

Notes



Introduction

The epigraph comes from General of the Army Omar N. Bradley's testimony to Congress in the wake of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur's relief from command in Korea. Bradley believed that the primary U.S. concern was not the Chinese enemy in Korea but the Soviet threat to exhausted, war-weary Western Europe. See Omar Nelson Bradley and Clay Blair, *A General's Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), 558.

1. Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., *The Army and Vietnam* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 37.
2. Phillip B. Davidson, *Vietnam at War, 1946—1975: The History* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1988), 730.
3. United States Department of the Army, FM 100-20, *Military Operations in Low-Intensity Conflict (Final Draft)* (Washington, DC, 7 March 1989), 1—1 to 1—12.

Chapter 1

The epigraph is from Sun-tzu, *The Art of War*, translated and with an introduction by Samuel B. Griffith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 63.

1. United States, Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *The United States and the Korean Problem: Documents, 1943—1953*, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, DC, 1953), Document 74, Preamble to the Korean Armistice Agreement. This publication is cited hereafter as Senate, *The United States and the Korean Problem*.
2. Frederica M. Bunge, ed., *South Korea: A Country Study*, Area handbook series (Washington, DC: United States Department of the Army, 1981), 43, 202.
3. *Ibid.*, 27; Joungwon A. Kim, "North Korea's New Offensive," *Foreign Affairs* 48 (October 1969):174—75; and Suck-ho Lee, "Party-Military Relations in North Korea: A Comparative Analysis," Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1983, 153, 166—67. Lee, a 1968 graduate of the Korean Military Academy, participated in the Second Korean Conflict.
4. Bunge, *South Korea*, 29—34, 39; and Se-jin Kim, *The Politics of Military Revolution in Korea* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), 89—91. Park, born in the countryside, had been commissioned through an officer candidate school in 1946. He had risen mainly through staff and intelligence work, although he did have the opportunity to attend the U.S. Army Field Artillery Officer Advanced Course at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.
5. Lee, "Party-Military Relations," 153—56, 189—93.
6. *Ibid.*, 153, 175, 182, 189—93; Tai Sung An, *North Korea in Transition: From Dictatorship to Dynasty* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), 16—18; and Joseph S. Bermudez, Jr., *North Korean Special Forces* (Surrey, England: Jane's Publishing Co., 1988), 28—29.
7. "Party-Military Relations," 153.

8. Lyndon B. Johnson, *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963–1969* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971), 358; and James P. Finley, *The US Military Experience in Korea, 1971–1982: In the Vanguard of ROK-US Relations* (San Francisco, CA: Command Historian's Office, Secretary Joint Staff, HQ, USFK/EUSA, 1983), 114–15.
9. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 114–15.
10. Lee, "Party-Military Relations," 153–54.
11. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 31, 127–27.
12. Jeffrey Simon, "NATO and Warsaw Pact Institutional Developments," in his *NATO Warsaw Pact Force Mobilization* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1988), 41–42; and William C. Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1976), 499, 505; and Harry G. Summers, *On Strategy: The Vietnam War in Context* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: United States Army War College, April 1981), 91.
13. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 31, 127.
14. United States, Armed Forces Staff College, AFSC Pub 1, *The Joint Staff Officer's Guide* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1988), 45.
15. *Ibid.*, 49.
16. West Point Alumni Foundation, *Register of Graduates and Former Cadets, 1969* (West Point, NY, 1969), 183, 314, 418; General Charles H. Bonesteel III, "U.S.-South Korean Partnership Holds a Truculent North at Bay," *Army* 19 (October 1969):60; and David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York: Fawcett Crest, 1971), 890.
17. Colonel Walter B. Clark, United States Army (ret.), telephone conversation with author from Charleston, South Carolina, 25 March 1990. Colonel Clark was the senior aide-de-camp and executive officer to General Charles H. Bonesteel III from September 1966 until August 1967.
18. Trevor Armbrister, *A Matter of Accountability: The True Story of the Pueblo Affair* (New York: Coward McCann, 1970), 119.
19. Clark interview; and General Charles H. Bonesteel III, United States Army (ret.), interview with Lieutenant Colonel Robert St. Louis, p. 328, Senior Officers Oral History Program Project 73–2, 1973, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA. The institute is cited hereafter as USAMHI.
20. Bonesteel interview, 334–35.
21. *Ibid.*, 335–36.
22. Clark interview.
23. Bonesteel interview, 328; and Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 220.
24. Bonesteel interview, 334.
25. United States, Department of the Army, FM 100-5, *Operations* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 19 February 1962), 47.
26. Lee, "Party-Military Relations," 169–79; and United States, Department of State, "Background Notes: North Korea" (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, September 1968), 3.
27. Lee, "Party-Military Relations," 210–16; L. James Binder, "On the Line in Korea: The Porous War," *Army* 19 (January 1969):57; and United States, Congress, Senate, Committee on Armed Services, *Combat Readiness of United States and South Korean Forces in South Korea*, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. (Washington, DC, 7 June 1968), 2–3. See appendix 3, annex 1, of this study for more details on the North Korean order of battle and probable deployment. This Senate publication is cited hereafter as Senate, *Combat Readiness*.
28. Binder, "The Porous War," 57; Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance, 1968–69* (London: Adlard and Son, 1968), 13; and Lieutenant Colonel Everett H. Webster, United States Air Force, "Is the Morning Calm About to Be Broken in Korea?" Research

- report no. 4471, Air War College, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL, March 1971, 13–14, 18.
29. Senate, *Combat Readiness*, 3; and Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance, 1968–69*, 13.
 30. Senate, *Combat Readiness*, 3.
 31. Webster, "Morning Calm," 14.
 32. Senate, *Combat Readiness*, 3.
 33. Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 26–31, 86.
 34. Bonesteel interview, 329–31; and Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 31, 86–87, 103.
 35. Binder, "The Porous War," 57; and Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 8.
 36. Colonel William P. Guthrie, United States Army, "Korea: The Other DMZ," *Infantry* 60 (March-April 1970):17.
 37. Bunge, *South Korea*, 52–54.
 38. Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 169–70.
 39. Senate, *The United States and the Korean Problem*, Document 74, Articles 1–11, 23, 27, Korean Armistice Agreement.
 40. Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 87; and Bunge, *South Korea*, 58.
 41. Bunge, *South Korea*, 49.
 42. Ibid, 54, 61, 77, 86.
 43. Emerson Chapin, "Success Story in South Korea," *Foreign Affairs* 47 (April 1969):561.
 44. See appendix 3, annex 2, of this study for more details on the U.S.-ROK order of battle and likely deployment.
 45. Major Vandon E. Jenerette, United States Army, "The Forgotten DMZ," *Military Review* 68 (May 1988):40.
 46. Bonesteel interview, 332; and Captain Rush R. Wicker, United States Army, "CH-37 Mojave—Workhorse of Korea," *United States Army Aviation Digest* 14 (July 1968):32–34.
 47. Shelby L. Stanton, *Vietnam Order of Battle* (Washington, DC: U.S. News Books, 1981), 287; and United States Army, 2d Infantry Division, "Operational Report—Lessons Learned, Headquarters, 2d Infantry Division, Period Ending 30 April 1969 (U)," 10, Archives, Combined Arms Research Library, United States Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, hereafter cited as 2ID, "Operational Report . . . 30 April 1969." The library is cited hereafter as CARL.
 48. Clark Dougan, et al., eds., *A Nation Divided, The Vietnam Experience*, vol. 20 (Boston, MA: Boston Publishing Co., 1984), 78, 80.
 49. Senate, *Combat Readiness*, 4; Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 60; and Colonel Charles L. Bachtel, United States Army (ret.), "The KATUSA Program," *Signal* 23 (December 1968): 42–44.
 50. Guthrie, "Korea: The Other DMZ," 20.
 51. Binder, "The Porous War," 57.
 52. Guthrie, "Korea: The Other DMZ," 22; and Clark interview.
 53. Wesley Pruden, Jr., "Asia's Other War," *Army* 17 (November 1967):31.
 54. Binder, "The Porous War," 57.
 55. Senate, *Combat Readiness*, 9; and Bunge, *South Korea*, 231–32.
 56. Paul S. Crane, M.D., "Korean Attitudes and Thought Patterns—Prepared for UNC/USFK," in the personal papers of Colonel Walter B. Clark, United States Army (ret.), Charleston,

SC; Bonesteel interview, 329, 338; and Clark interview. See also General Westmoreland's similar observations in *A Soldier Reports*, 313–14.

57. Webster, "Morning Calm," 18.
58. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 20; and Senate, *Combat Readiness*, 9.
59. Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 23–24; Bunge, *South Korea*, 240–42; and Larry Cable, *A Conflict of Myths: The Development of American Counterinsurgency Doctrine and the Vietnam War* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 33–43.
60. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 105.

Chapter 2

The epigraph comes from Wesley Pruden, Jr., "Asia's Other War," 28.

1. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 114–15, 220; and Bonesteel interview, 329.
2. Lee, "Party-Military Relations," 151–54.
3. Kim Il-song, "The International Situation and Problems of the World Communist Movement," in his *Revolution and Socialist Construction in Korea: Selected Writings* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 114–15; and Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 30.
4. Lee, "Party-Military Relations," 153–54; and U.S. Department of State, "Background Notes: North Korea," 3.
5. An, *North Korea*, 16–18; Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 31; and Bonesteel interview, 328.
6. Kim Il-song, "The International Situation," 113.
7. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 116.
8. *Ibid.*, 116; and Clark interview. President Johnson visited Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, and Malaysia before landing in Korea.
9. Jenerette, "The Forgotten DMZ," 35–36; Pruden, "Asia's Other War," 28; United States Army, 2d Infantry Division, 3d Brigade, "Annual Historical Supplement 1966," USAMHI; Clark interview; "DOD Order Curbs 'Premature' Medal of Honor Information," *Army Times*, 16 November 1966:5. Those who believe in the whims of fortune might observe that the ambushed patrol's chain of command included descendants of two of the American military's more unlucky generals. Major General George Pickett (U.S. 2d Infantry Division) was a cousin of the unfortunate Confederate who led the doomed charge at Gettysburg. Colonel Alan W. Jones, Jr. (3d Brigade) had been captured in the Battle of the Bulge when German forces surrounded the bulk of his father's ill-starred 106th Infantry Division. In Pickett's case, the general compounded his misfortune by insisting that his lost patrol had fought superbly. He even publicly recommended the award of a Medal of Honor to one of his dead soldiers. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara censured Pickett for this improper outburst.
10. Jenerette, "The Forgotten DMZ," 35–36; and Johnson, *The Vantage Point*, 363. Though Johnson referred to his trip to Korea, he made no mention of the patrol casualties in his memoirs.
11. Bonesteel interview, 328.
12. Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports*, 90; and Stuart L. Perkins, "The US Force Structure and C3," in *Guerrilla Warfare and Counterinsurgency: U.S.-Soviet Policy in the Third World*, edited by Richard H. Schultz, Jr., et al. (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1989), 242–43.
13. Bonesteel interview, 328.
14. General Charles H. Bonesteel III, United States Army (ret.), "On Korea's DMZ: Vigil

Seals the 'Porous' War," *Army* 18 (October 1968):60; Senate, *Combat Readiness*, 3; and Bonesteel interview, 329—30.

15. Bonesteel interview, 329.
16. United States, Department of the Army, FM 100-15, *Field Service Regulations: Larger Units*, With Change 1 (Washington DC: United States Government Printing Office, 16 March 1966), 3. The contemporary core doctrinal manual from which FM 100-5 derived was the 1962 version of FM 100-5, *Field Service Regulations: Operations*. It featured a slightly better theoretical discussion of the various types of warfare, although admitting that "the dividing line between cold war and limited war is neither distinct nor absolute." FM 100-5 (1962), 5. Like FM 100-15, FM 100-5 then proceeds to list "local aggression," "conventional war," and "limited nuclear war" as examples of limited war, tying the whole sloppy bundle together by saying that "a limited war is any conflict which does not involve the unrestricted employment of all available resources." *Ibid.*, 5. Finally, just to muddy things up, FM 100-5 differs from FM 100-15 by indicating that cold war situations "can and often do" involve overt combat. *Ibid.*, 155.

Most of the ideas, good and bad, in the other manuals discussed in this study can be traced back to phrases, sentences, and paragraphs in FM 100-5. See Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam*, 39, for critical analysis of this manual.
17. FM 100-20, 1—10 to 1—12. Curiously, one part of FM 100-5 (1962) that did not find its way into other manuals was a brief discussion of situations "short of war," listed as including "show of force, truce enforcement, international police action," and "legal occupation." FM 100-5 (1962), 156. Unfortunately, there was no specific definition or discussion of these operations. Instead, the authors supplied very general (and somewhat useful) guidance for all situations of this type. This general guidance did percolate down to the segment on "Cold War" missions in the divisional manual.
18. FM 100-15, 35—37.
19. United States, Department of the Army, FM 61-100, *The Division* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, June 1965), 146—49. This lifts whole chunks from FM 100-5 (1962), 160—61.
20. United States, Department of the Army, FM 31-16, *Counter guerrilla Operations* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 19 February 1963), 71—74; and Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam*, 39—41, 127.
21. United States, Department of the Army, FM 61-100, *The Division* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, November 1968), 12—15 to 12—18. Indicative of the lack of doctrinal development during the Vietnam era, this manual repeats almost verbatim the entire "Cold War" segment referenced in note 19 above. The only notable change, aside from some adjustments for grammatical clarity, is the substitution of the term "stability operations" for "counterinsurgency."
22. Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam*, 197, features the terse Westmoreland quote concerning fire power as the answer to counterinsurgency. See also Robert A. Doughty, *The Evolution of US Army Tactical Doctrine, 1946—76*, Leavenworth Papers no. 1 (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute, United States Army Command and General Staff College, August 1979), 39.
23. Bonesteel interview, 335.
24. *Ibid.* The innovations developed in Korea during the late 1960s were summarized in United States, Department of the Army, FM 31-55, *Border Security/Anti-Infiltration Operations* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, March 1972).
25. Bonesteel interview, 328—30, 332—33.
26. FM 31-55, 3—2.
27. Bonesteel, "On Korea's DMZ," 60—61.
28. FM 31-55, 3—1.

29. Bonesteel interview, 331—32, 335.
30. Guthrie, "Korea: The Other DMZ," 17. Colonel Guthrie commanded a DMZ brigade during the height of the conflict in 1968—69. His frank account of his experiences ranks among the best sources of information during this period.
31. Staff Sergeant Richard Duke, United States Army, "Action Zone—Korea," *Army Digest* 23 (March 1968):20.
32. Guthrie, "Korea: The Other DMZ," 19. See appendix 4 of this study for a recapitulation of significant firefights involving U.S. forces.
33. *Ibid.*, 19—20.
34. Bonesteel interview, 337.
35. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 220.
36. Staff Sergeant Richard Duke, United States Army, "Dead End for Infiltrators," *Army Digest* 23 (March 1968):21.
37. Guthrie, "Korea: The Other DMZ," 18; and "Heatless Hootches Burn Investigators," *Army Times*, 31 January 1968:7.
38. Duke, "Dead End for Infiltrators," 21; and Guthrie, "Korea: The Other DMZ," 21. There had been other, earlier fences made of barbed wire. See, for example, Colonel Robert J. Davenport, United States Army, "Barrier Along the Korean DMZ," *Combat Notes* column, *Infantry* 57 (May-June 1967):40—42.
39. Bonesteel interview, 333; Pruden, "Asia's Other War," 30; and Guthrie, "Korea: The Other DMZ," 22. Chain-link fence, although commonly available, costs much more per meter than barbed wire.
40. Bonesteel interview, 336—37.
41. *Ibid.*, 332—33.
42. Guthrie, "Korea: The Other DMZ," 22; 2ID, "Operational Report . . . 30 April 1969," 1; and Robert F. Norton, "Armor Helps Defend the ROK," *Armor* 77 (September-October 1968): 19—20.
43. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 16; and Bonesteel interview, 331.
44. Bonesteel interview, 331.
45. Pruden, "Asia's Other War," 29; and Guthrie, "Korea: The Other DMZ," 18.
46. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 116—35.
47. Bonesteel, "On Korea's DMZ," 61; and Bonesteel interview, 334, 337.
48. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 116; and Guthrie, "Korea: The Other DMZ," 18.
49. Antony Preston, "The Naval War in Vietnam," in *The Vietnam War: An Almanac*, edited by John S. Bowman (New York: World Almanac Publications, 1985), 427—28.
50. FM 31-55, 7—6.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Institute of Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance, 1968—1969*, 38—39, 68—69.
53. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 117.
54. Bonesteel interview, 333; and Bonesteel, "U.S.-South Korean Partnership," 62.
55. Bunge, *South Korea*, 245—46.
56. *Ibid.*, 245, 247.
57. Bonesteel, "On Korea's DMZ," 60. Note the photograph of troops from the ROK 26th Infantry Regiment aboard U.S. helicopters from I Corps (Group).
58. Bonesteel, "U.S.-South Korean Partnership," 62; Bonesteel interview, 332; and Summers, *On Strategy*, 47.

59. Bonesteel interview, 332; and Summers, *On Strategy*, 47.
60. William Loomis, "Is a Renewal of the Korean Conflict Imminent?" *DATA* 13 (June 1968):12–13. The Taebaek and Chiri Mountain areas had both experienced much guerrilla activity during the Korean War. Forces employed in these regions included portions of the U.S. 1st Marine Division. See Cable, *A Conflict of Myths*, 39–41.
61. Bunge, *South Korea*, 187–89; and Bonesteel interview, 332.
62. Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 23–26.
63. Bonesteel, "U.S.-South Korean Partnership," 63; and Kim, "North Korea's New Offensive," 178–79.

Chapter 3

The epigraph comes from Chapin, "Success Story in South Korea," 566.

1. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 220.
2. Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 31; Bonesteel interview, 330; and Specialist Fifth Class John J. Stefans, United States Army, "Confessions of a Red Agent," *Army Digest* 23 (May 1968):17.
3. Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 32.
4. Stefans, "Confessions of a Red Agent," 19.
5. *Ibid.*, 18–19; Guthrie, "Korea: The Other DMZ," 22; Bonesteel interview, 339–40; Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 32; United States Army, 2d Infantry Division, 1st Brigade, "Annual Historical Supplement 1968," USAMHI; and United States Army, 2d Infantry Division, 2d Brigade, "Annual Historical Supplement 1968," USAMHI.
6. Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 32–33.
7. *Ibid.*, 32; Stefans, "Confessions of a Red Agent," 17; and Bonesteel interview, 340.
8. Bonesteel interview, 340.
9. *Ibid.*, 340–41.
10. *Ibid.*, 341; and Armbrister, *A Matter of Accountability*, 211–31.
11. Armbrister, *A Matter of Accountability*, 239, 261.
12. Bonesteel interview, 341; and Clark interview.
13. Johnson, *The Vantage Point*, 533.
14. *Ibid.*, 533, 535.
15. Armbrister, *A Matter of Accountability*, 275–76.
16. Johnson, *The Vantage Point*, 535; and Armbrister, *A Matter of Accountability*, 276.
17. Armbrister, *A Matter of Accountability*, 221, 276; Chapin, "Success Story in South Korea," 561, 565; and David S. McLellan, *Cyrus Vance* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, Publishers, 1985), 16.
18. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 108–9, 113–14, 116–18.
19. Chapin, "Success Story in South Korea," 565.
20. Johnson, *The Vantage Point*, 536.
21. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 118, 131; and Armbrister, *A Matter of Accountability*, 262.
22. Captain Robert P. Everett, United States Air Force, "Korea: Crisis and Response," *Airman* 12 (December 1968):5–7; Captain Robert P. Everett, United States Air Force, "Korea: Suwon—Case in Point," *Airman* 12 (December 1968):8; and Captain Robert P. Everett, United States Air Force, "Korea: A Test for Prime Beef," *Airman* 12 (December 1968):10–12.
23. Armbrister, *A Matter of Accountability*, 229–31, 266.

24. Senate, *Combat Readiness*, 6–7.
25. Vice Admiral Jerry Miller, United States Navy (ret.), “Do You Have Enough Authority?” *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings* 116 (February 1990):69.
26. McLellan, *Cyrus Vance*, 7–15.
27. Armbrister, *A Matter of Accountability*, 276–77.
28. McLellan, *Cyrus Vance*, 16; Armbrister, *A Matter of Accountability*, 277; and Gregory Henderson, *Korea: The Politics of the Vortex* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 142.
29. Bonesteel interview, 334–35; and Bonesteel, “On Korea’s DMZ,” 61.
30. “DMZ Action May Change Pay Rule,” *Army Times*, 7 February 1968:1, 20; and United States, Department of the Army, AR 672-5-1, *Decorations, Awards, and Honors* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 18 September 1989), 28.
31. “Fight Pay for Korea Due Soon,” *Army Times*, 13 March 1968:1, 20; and “Korea DMZ Combat Pay Approved,” *Army Times*, 10 April 1968:1, 22.
32. AR 672-5-1, 28; and United States, Department of the Army, AR 670-1, *Wear and Appearance of Army Uniforms and Insignia* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 20 March 1987), 85, 88–89. To this day, the Commanding General, U.S. Eighth Army, retains authority to award the Combat Infantryman and Combat Medical Badges. This is the only command so authorized.
33. There were 295 official visitors during the first half of the year, during the most serious period of crisis; these included thirteen Congressional delegations, one cabinet member, twenty-seven civilian groups, and seventy-five high-level Department of Defense, service department, and military visitors.
34. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 132.
35. Jenerette, “The Forgotten DMZ,” 36, quoting from the Department of Defense’s “Report of the 1971 Quadrennial Review of Military Compensation.”
36. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 132.
37. Everett, “Korea: Crisis and Response,” 5.
38. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 122, 125.
39. Loomis, “Renewal,” 13.
40. Jenerette, “The Forgotten DMZ,” 40; and “Army Extends Korea Tours for Skilled,” *Army Times*, 14 February 1968:3.
41. Jenerette, “The Forgotten DMZ,” 40.
42. Loomis, “Renewal,” 13.
43. Binder, “The Porous War,” 57.
44. *Ibid.*, 53.
45. *Ibid.*, 57.
46. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 117, 121.
47. *Ibid.*, 122.
48. Bonesteel, “U.S.-South Korean Partnership,” 60; and Bonesteel interview, 333–34.
49. Joint Military Assistance Advisory Group (Provisional), “ROK Armed Forces Civic Action Program for 1969 (U),” 15 May 1969, 1, 9–11. This includes a summary of 1968 activities. For the older type of programs, see Kim Han Yong, *Republic of Korea Army: 1966* (Seoul: Office of Public Information, 1966), 12.
50. Bunge, *South Korea*, 86–89, 230; and Park Chung Hee, *Korea Reborn* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1979), 68.
51. Bonesteel, “U.S.-South Korean Partnership,” 63; and Bonesteel, “On Korea’s DMZ,” 60.

52. General Charles H. Bonesteel III, "Year End Press Conference—11 January 1967," in the personal papers of Colonel Clark; and "Korea Test Plan Educates Soldiers," *Army Times*, 20 March 1968:5.
53. 2ID, "Operational Report . . . 30 April 1969," 1—2.
54. Binder, "The Porous War," 55.
55. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 120—22; and Webster, "Morning Calm," 9, which indicates that the ROKs captured 1,245 agents during 1968.
56. Binder, "The Porous War," 56; and Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 33.
57. Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 33—34; and Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 128.
58. Bonesteel interview, 334.

Chapter 4

The epigraph comes from Binder, "The Porous War," 57.

1. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 128.
2. Binder, "The Porous War," 55; and Loomis, "Renewal," 12—13.
3. Stephen B. Patrick, "The East Is Red," *Strategy and Tactics* 42 (January-February 1974); 17; and Stephen B. Patrick, "The China War," *Strategy and Tactics* 47 (September-October 1979):9.
4. An, *North Korea*, 16—18.
5. Lee, "Party-Military Relations," 155, 215; and Ilpyong J. Kim, *Communist Politics in North Korea* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), 76.
6. Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 68.
7. Lee, "Party-Military Relations," 155.
8. Webster, "Morning Calm," 9—10; and Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 35.
9. Lee, "Party-Military Relations," 211—16, 252—57.
10. *Ibid.*, 155; An, *North Korea*, 18; Kim, *Communist Politics in North Korea*, 76; and Dan Oh Kong, *Leadership Chance in North Korean Politics* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1988), 7. Kim Il-sung's quest for personal loyalty among key subordinates included the elevation of younger brother Kim Yong-chu and son Kim Jong-il. The latter assumed control of the KWP Propaganda and Agitation Bureau in 1971 and is now Kim Il-sung's designated successor.
11. Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 2, 12—13, 35—38, 72—73.
12. Kim, *Communist Politics in North Korea*, 76.
13. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 150; 2ID, "Operational Report . . . 1969," 2—6; and United States Army, 2d Infantry Division, "Operational Report, Lessons Learned, Headquarters, 2d Infantry Division, for Period Ending 30 April 1970 (U)," 22 September 1970, 3, hereafter cited as 2ID, "Operational Report . . . 30 April 1970."
14. United States Army, 2d Infantry Division, 2d Brigade, "Annual Historical Supplement, 1969," and United States Army, 2d Infantry Division, 3d Brigade, "Annual Historical Supplement, 1969," both in USAMHI.
15. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 129.
16. *Ibid.*; Bonesteel, "U.S.-South Korean Partnership," 61—63.
17. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 129.
18. Joint Military Assistance Group Korea (Provisional), "ROK Armed Forces Civic Action Program for 1969 (U)," 2—3, 11.
19. Chapin, "Success Story in South Korea," 565—66.

20. Bonesteel, "U.S.-South Korean Partnership," 61; and Bonesteel interview, 334.
21. Richard E. Bradshaw, "Major Determinants of North Korea Foreign Policy," in *The Politics of North Korea*, edited by Jae Kyu Park and Jung Gun Kim (Seoul, Korea: Kyungnam University, 1979), 190. For the first public admission of a possible change in the north, see Takashi Ota, "North Korea Held to Shift Tactics," *New York Times*, 21 September 1969:8. Ota's article offered the first public discussion of North Korean purges and a possible shift to political agitation rather than unconventional warfare. The article, based on South Korean and UNC sources, also featured the caveat that "any time the Americans present a target of opportunity, the North Koreans will seize it." Overall, it was an amazingly accurate piece of journalism. See also Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 76. Bermudez notes these other names for the 8th Special Purpose Corps: 8th Special Duties Army Group, Light Infantry Army Group, Reconnaissance Army Group, 3729th Unit, and Strategic Forces Command. This gives some clue as to the care accorded to operational security in North Korea.
22. Kim Il-song, "On Some Theoretical Problems of the Socialist Economy," in his *Revolution and Socialist Construction in Korea*, 165.
23. Lee, "Party-Military Relations," 151–59.
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25. 2ID, "Operational Report . . . 30 April 1969," 2.
26. 2ID, 3Bde, "AHS 1969."
27. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 129–30.
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31. Bermudez, *North Korean Special Forces*, 34.
32. Richard M. Nixon, *RN, the Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Warner Books, 1978), 472–73.
33. *Ibid.*, 473–74; and Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Co., 1979), 317.
34. Kissinger, *White House Years*, 318–20.
35. Nixon, *RN*, 474; and United States, Congress, House, Armed Services Committee, *Inquiry Into the USS Pueblo and EC-121 Plane Incidents*, 91st Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, DC, 28 April 1969), 924, hereafter cited as House, *Inquiry*.
36. Nixon, *RN*, 473–75.
37. Kissinger, *White House Years*, 319.
38. Nixon, *RN*, 476–77; and House, *Inquiry*, 923.
39. Kissinger, *White House Years*, 320; and Lieutenant D. L. Strole, United States Navy, and Lieutenant W. E. Dutcher, United States Naval Reserve, "Naval and Maritime Events, July 1968–December 1969," *US Naval Institute Proceedings* 96 (May 1970):14.
40. Kissinger, *White House Years*, 321.
41. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 130–31; and 2ID, 3Bde, "AHS 1969."
42. Nixon, *RN*, 488; and Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 132.
43. Guthrie, "Korea: The Other DMZ," 17.
44. 2ID, "Operational Report . . . 30 April 1969," 10.
45. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 132.
46. 2ID, 3Bde, "AHS 1969."

47. United States Army, 2d Infantry Division, "Operational Report—Lessons Learned, Headquarters, 2d Infantry Division, Period Ending 31 October 1970 (U)," 1.
48. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 134.
49. *Ibid.*, 130—35.
50. General John H. Michaelis, United States Army, "Two Decade Vigil Forges a Stronger South Korea," *Army* 20 (October 1970):60—62.

Chapter 5

The epigraph is from United States Marine Corps, *Small Wars Manual* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1940), paragraph 1—16.

1. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 220.
2. Bowman, *The Vietnam War: An Almanac*, 218.
3. The casualties and duration of post-1945 American wars and military expeditions are available in R. Ernest Dupuy and Trevor N. Dupuy, *The Encyclopedia of Military History: From 3500 B.C. to the Present* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 1199—1400. Interestingly, the Second Korean Conflict (2 November 1966 to 3 December 1969) exceeded the Korean War in duration by one day (reckoned by U.S. Department of Defense historians to run from 27 June 1950 to 27 July 1953).
4. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 220.
5. Frederica M. Bunge, ed., *North Korea, a Country Study*, Area handbook series (Washington, DC: United States Department of the Army, 1981), 202, 223, 227.
6. Webster, "Morning Calm," 8—9.
7. James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War: A Comprehensive Guide to Modern Warfare* (New York: William Morrow, 1988), 581.
8. Bunge, *South Korea*, 34—38, 240; and Webster, "Morning Calm," 4—5.
9. Bunge, *North Korea*, 242—45.
10. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 207.
11. Clark interview.
12. Napoleon Bonaparte, "Maxims," in *The Roots of Strategy: The 5 Greatest Military Classics of All Times*, compiled by Thomas Raphael Phillips (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1985).
13. Bonesteel interview, 334.
14. Perkins, "U.S. Force Structure," 242—44. U.S. forces operated independently of the country team for extended periods in Honduras (Joint Task Force Bravo, 1984 to the present), Lebanon (U.S. Multinational Force, 1982—84), and the Persian Gulf (Joint Task Force—Middle East, 1987—88), among other examples. Although not required, close liaison with the embassy was kept in all of these cases, just as in Korea during 1966—69.
15. For discussions of the challenges of combined operations, see United States, Department of the Army, FM 100-5, *Operations* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, May 1986), 164—65; and FM 100-20, 1—16 to 1—17. For an example of the committee approach in Beirut (1982—84), see Daniel P. Bolger, *Americans at War, 1975—1986: An Era of Violent Peace* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1988), 198—99.
16. Bonesteel interview, 334.
17. Lieutenant Colonel A. J. Bacevich, United States Army, et al., "American Military Police in Small Wars: The Case of El Salvador," 41, typescript, March 1988, USAMHI.
18. FM 100-20, 1—11.
19. *Ibid.*, 2—30, 5—2

20. Ibid., 2—30.
 21. FM 31-55 summarizes the results of the UNC border defense operations of 1966—69. The barest summary of FM 31-55 (now out of print) can be found in the current FM 100-20, E-18 to E-20.
 22. FM 100-20, 1—9.
 23. Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, translated and edited by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 80.
 24. Finley, *US Military Experience in Korea*, 175, 185, 207, 220.
 25. Bunge, *North Korea*, 128, 232, 244.
 26. "Korea Today: The Vigil Continues," *Army Digest* 24 (October 1969):43—44.
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Glossary



CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CFC	U.S.-ROK Combined Forces Command
CINCUNC	Commander in Chief, United Nations Command
DMZ	Demilitarized Zone
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
EUSA	U.S. Eighth Army
HDRF	Homeland Defense Reserve Force
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
KATUSA	Korean Augmentation to the U.S. Army
KCIA	Korean Central Intelligence Agency
KIA	killed in action
KMAG	Korean Military Advisory Group
KNP	Korean National Police (south)
KPA	Korean People's Army (north)
KPAF	Korean People's Air Force (north)
KPN	Korean People's Navy (north)
KWP	Korean Workers' Party (north)
LIC	low-intensity conflict
MACV	Military Assistance Command, Vietnam
MDL	Military Demarcation Line
MIA	missing in action
MSR	main supply route
PACOM	Pacific Command
QRF	quick-reaction force
ROK	Republic of Korea
ROKA	Republic of Korea Army

ROKAF	Republic of Korea Air Force
ROKN	Republic of Korea Navy
SOP	standing operating procedure
UNC	United Nations Command
USAF	United States Air Force
USFK	United States Forces, Korea
USN	United States Navy
WIA	wounded in action

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Major Daniel P. Bolger

Major Daniel P. Bolger is an infantry officer, commissioned in 1978 from The Citadel. He served as a platoon leader, company executive officer, battalion S4, and rifle company commander in the 2d Battalion (Mechanized), 34th Infantry, at Fort Stewart, Georgia. Following graduate school at the University of Chicago, where he earned his doctorate in history, he taught Russian and Soviet history at the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York. Major Bolger graduated from the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College in 1990 and currently serves as a battalion operations officer (S3) in the 1st Battalion (Mechanized), 5th Infantry, in the Republic of Korea. He has written three other books: *Dragons at War: 2-34th Infantry in the Mojave* (1986), *Americans at War 1975—1986: An Era of Violent Peace* (1988), and *Feast of Bones* (1990), a military novel.



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Why did the United States and its Korean allies win? This Leavenworth Paper offers a case study in how an operational-level commander, General Charles H. Bonesteel III, met the challenge of low-intensity conflict in his theater. Bonesteel and his United States and Korean subordinates crafted a series of shrewd, pragmatic measures that eventually defanged North Korea's aggressive unconventional warfare campaign. This accomplishment is even more remarkable in light of the many circumstances that severely cramped Bonesteel's options. Mediocre, conventionally oriented allied forces, a volatile Korean political scene, half-baked American doctrine, and the overarching specter of a second Asian land war all affected the formulation and execution of the American-Korean response to North Korea's bold provocations.

Low-intensity conflict remains a serious concern for a U.S. Army oriented on more dangerous, less likely midintensity wars. While the Korean situation of 1966—69 was certainly unique, this analysis of the allied performance in a forgotten conflict offers some important conclusions that may prove valuable to those confronted with the continuing challenges of waging—and winning—America's small wars.