

If in Trouble--the Truth

As I write these lines, American troops in North Korea are being pushed out of their by the Chinese armies. The United States has not altered its tenet on going to the defense of Formosa if the government of China should decide to attack it. It is ~~ix~~ ^{not} supported in this tenet by either Great/Britain, France, Holland, or Belgium. It is the declared intention of the United States to spend about a billion dollars in an attempt to produce hydrogen bombs and to creat a military force on the continent of Europe strong enough to withhold the Russian attack. This is clearly possible only if Germany is reconstructed and rearmed, and it is the declared intention of the United States to achieve this.

The increasing military might of America and Russia represents a threat to each other's security. This threat has been rapidly increasing ever since the end of the last war, and it is not astonishing that in the United States more and more people think in terms of a preventive war. A military preparedness on the scale now contemplated by the United States with a military expenditure of perhaps 50 million dollars and an army held in readiness of more than three million men represents the thinking of Americans a burden which they are not inclined to carry over an indefinite period of time. The assumption of this burden will inevitably lead to sentiment in favor of a preventive war. The possibility of the preventive war waged by the United States though it is in many people's mind is rarely publicly expressed ~~ix~~ ^{but} the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Matthews did express it publicly and yet was permitted to remain in office. But though the thought of preventive war is in the minds of many Americans, none of them in their right senses advocates that we should go to war right now. Their concept of preventive war, however, is rather that we should rearm ourselves, reconstruct Germany, make Western Europe impregnable, and then have a show-down with Russia and go to war if Russia cannot satisfy our legitimate need for security. Just what Russia should do to satisfy our legitimate need~~x~~ for security has not so far been stated. Presumably

we want her to give us certain material guarantees rather than her pledged word, but just what this guarantee should be remains obscure. Judging by analogy, we must assume that many people in Russia may also think in terms of a preventive war even though no public utterances to this effect have come to our notice, but in contrast to the American adherence to preventive war, the Russian adherence to preventive war are to prevent that war until Western Europe is rearmed. If Russia is going to fight a preventive war, the time for her to do so is right now. Having gone out on a limb with respect to Formosa, the United States is offering ~~xx~~ Russia an opportunity to embroil us in war without ~~xxxxing~~ ^{being} the aggressor and operating under the framework of the United Nations. Thus she will enable Western Europe to declare herself neutral and ~~xx~~ ^{she} will not have to invade Western Europe, at least in the early phases of the war and perhaps not any time during the war. For if the Chinese attack Formosa in the near future while our pledge to defend Formosa still stands, we are bound to defend Formosa. And if we do so and use Japan as a base for our defensive operations, the Russian-Chinese alliance will bring Russia into the war. World opinion will not hold that either China or Russia acted illegally and the countries of Western Europe will act both in conformity with world opinion and with their own need of immediate survival, and with their own desire to avoid immediate occupation by Russia if they declare themselves to be neutral. What England might do in these circumstances is difficult to say, but she might decide to help us by giving us "all aid short of war." Because ~~xxx~~ ^{we} went out on a limb when we pledged ourselves to defend Formosa and because the Chinese by ~~xxxx~~ ^{may} make it exceedingly hard for us to crawl back from the limb, the timing of a Russian American war is today and will remain for the next few months in Russian hands. During these next few months the war may come any day.

②
In June of this year

When North Korean troops invaded South Korea it seemed to me that we had no choice but to intervene with our troops as well as arms and I did not hesitate to voice this ~~my~~ opinion ~~and~~ I found that most of those ^{to whom I spoke} informed by ~~generally well informed~~ all of them ~~generally~~ ^{generally} well ~~of~~ informed people ~~but~~ ^{throughout} ~~operational~~ in & defense board ~~almost~~ relations agreed with ~~me~~ my point of view. ~~The~~ The U.S. had no treaty of alliance with South Korea and was under no obligation to go to war on her behalf. But ~~nothing~~ by ~~which~~ South Korea was invaded would have been the betrayal of a ~~political~~ friend and I felt that this the U.S. could not very well do ~~it~~ because the U.S. had manifestly no strategic objectives in Korea. There ~~was~~ no reason to be little danger that intervention

by the United States. — Further
I was at that time under
the impression that under paragraph
51 of the Charter

I was under the impression that
intervention by the U.S. could
not have been

strat no fault tho. At first
there was no fault in my mind
that ~~the~~ dates by the U.S.
I had tho. I did not have any
doubt that under paragraph 51
of the Charter of the U.N. the
U.S. was within its rights to
intervene on Korea

for collective self defense } which provides

until Sir Percy's Pan drew my
attention to the fact that
Korea was not a member of the
U.N. and that my argument
was therefore on mere
slimy grounds. — What a
I had some doubts whether

The action actually taken by
the security council was not
a violation of the spirit
if not of the letter of the Charter.
When the Charter was drawn
up the China and Russia stamp
with the Am. Fr. and England were
given the right ~~to~~ veto for
the purpose of preventing the
UN to make decisions which
due to the opposition of a
major power cannot be
enforced without a war of
which the outcome would
remain uncertain. ~~The~~ ^{the} ~~action~~
~~taken~~ taken by the security council ~~in~~ ^{the} ~~the~~
Council against the oppos.
of Russia and the actual government
of China, ~~that~~ violated that
basic principle of the Charter
whether or not it was "legal"
~~It~~ from a formal point of view
even though I was aware of this
point of view I felt that ~~the~~

we had a good cause when
we decided to free South Korea
from its invaders and I
was reassured ~~that~~ that
Dulles concurred in that position
when it arrived.

As the South Korean Campaign
got under way I learned as
did all people who followed
the ~~excellent~~ ~~reports~~ ~~of~~ ~~our~~ ~~correspondents~~
reports of our war correspondents.

It is about South Korea that
I had not known & I learned
first of to be sure ~~is~~ to apply
our notion of a free democ-
racy to Korea either South or
North & ~~the~~ ^{our} concept of democracy
is based on the full of rights.

Insert. The state of North Korea
~~involved~~ ^{involved} the state of South Korea.
This seemed to be ~~the~~ ^{the} clear case of aggression
at these times and one.

You can have freedom based
on a bill of rights even in the
absence of what we regard as
democracy ~~as~~ This had been
the case in Imperial Germany
before the first world war,
But you can not have any
bill of ~~democracy~~ ~~rights~~
~~rights~~ ~~rights~~ ~~rights~~ ~~rights~~
without a political system ~~that~~
~~deserving~~ ~~the~~ ~~despotic~~ ~~rule~~
that ~~is~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~
as a democracy without ~~that~~
~~having~~ a bill of rights which
is enforced, — as long as
the ~~dictator~~ the South Korean
~~is~~ ~~is~~ ~~is~~ ~~is~~ ~~is~~ ~~is~~
known to be — remains the
~~essence~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~South~~ ~~the~~
Korean administration there
will ~~be~~ ~~no~~ ~~with~~ any bill of
rights in South Korea will
remain a scrap of paper and
free elections ~~and~~ ~~nothing~~ ~~of~~
little consequence.

When the United States decided
to cross the 38th Parallel I
knew that a major mistake
has been made and that
we were no longer pursuing
what I would regard as
a righteous course. —

~~also~~ The obvious purpose of
crossing the 38th Parallel
was to destroy the political
system of North Korea and
to unify North Korea and South
Korea. ~~and the taking of~~
The occupation of North Korea
was to be followed by free elections
there and the setting up of
a democratic regime in all Korea.

The decision to cross the 38th
parallel was sanctioned
by a majority of the U.N.
assembly. But the issue of
~~might~~ right and wrong

are not decided by a
majority vote, least of all by

This
is
true
that

by a majority vote in the
U. N. assembly where ~~a major~~
most of the South American
states ~~will~~ vote with
us whenever we and Russia
make an appropriate bid. ~~The~~ ^{The} ~~the~~
~~the~~ ~~can~~ ~~get~~ ~~little~~ ~~comfort~~ ^{Medulla}
from the moral support of
South American states ^{which}
~~has~~ ~~heartily~~ ~~concurred~~ ~~that~~ ~~has~~
~~both~~ ~~North~~ ~~and~~ ~~South~~ ~~that~~

but when only ~~the~~ ~~few~~ ~~are~~
democrats as we know democracy -
heartily endorsing that North
Korea must be a democracy
does not give us ~~an~~ ~~action~~ ~~much~~
~~action~~ ~~support~~ ~~me~~ ~~much~~
comfort. - Moreover the ~~action~~
decision of the assembly to
"unify" Korea represents a
major shift in our ~~and~~ ~~our~~ ~~and~~
position with and ~~plains~~ ~~which~~
in the ~~interests~~ ~~of~~ ~~our~~
and ~~our~~ ~~and~~ ~~our~~

Of South Korea and North
Men ~~over~~ ^{as was probably} must be regarded
as two independent states
then we were confronted with
the aggression. Indeed at one
stage against another but
in that case the UN has
~~to~~ no business to decide
that they must be united.
And on the other hand of
South and North Korea ~~are~~ must
be regarded as one state
engaged in a civil war
comparable to the American
civil war. Then there was
no case of aggression to begin
with and we had intervened
in a civil war. The truth ~~is~~
probably lies somewhere
between these two extremes. I would
not that gives us no excuse for
stopping ~~it~~ whenever
it suits our own purposes
or another. —

Command
Kerry

When we crossed the 30th parallel

I had no more reason to
impeach a Chinese, Japanese
than than had the U.S. facts
or rather I had less reason for
it for I did not know that the
Government of Australia had come
for our part a manning ~~to~~ based
on a report received from the
Ambassador to China. ~~I had~~
of course never at a loss of course
disturbed by Gen. MacArthur's
claim of knowing the mentality
of the oriental and apprehensive
of his willingness to take
calculated risks which ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~not~~
subsequently frequently have
not to be miscalculated risk.

As the North Korean army
proceeded a road for the first
time of the power plant and
the palm trees which supply
Manchuria with electricity
apparently under Japanese rule.
Korea and Manchuria became
much more of an economic

must have I had realised.
Even though I am a voracious
reader of the newspapers
this was the first time I heard
about these power plants ~~which~~
~~is rather odd~~ and it is
difficult to think how
difficult it is for the average
newspaper reader, who has
not been in subatomic
relations as yet all the pertinent
facts.

But even though I considered
~~that~~ this connection between
North Korea and China an
important item of information
~~and~~ when the Chinese
troops appeared in North Korea
I did not think for a moment
that these ~~power plants~~ ^{plants} were
sent there to protect
the power plants. ~~They~~ ^{the} ~~power~~
plants. ~~Perhaps~~ I had no doubt
whether or not the Chinese did
need in North Korea

They intervened in North
Korea for the very same
reason we intervened in
South Korea because they
did not want to have
a political friend -

Surely. I had ^{no} ~~no~~ doubt that
we shall succeed in occupying
North Korea and destroying the Korean
political system. - ~~THEY WILL~~
~~But~~ But I had considerable
doubt that we will be able
to give North Korea a government
that will be better than the
one replaced ~~with~~ by better
I mean better for the North
Koreans rather than more
friendly to the U.S. a considerable
plan ~~is~~ which is hardly
very important.

- considering North
Korean strategic position -

It seemed to me that the
only purpose served by crossing
the 38th parallel was to show
them that they can not get away

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with it "a consideration worthy of
~~the~~ which you would expect
to be given by the parents
of children more than the mature
~~experience of the~~ ~~profession~~ *

I know that the views
~~as~~ presented above as my
own are shared by
many distinguished other
men who followed the events
of the last 6 months and
came to these own conclusions,
rather than the ones
from ~~the~~ the editorials of
their local news papers.
* So far as I know of these men
- to my knowledge -
have spoken in public. I
believe it is time they do.
~~There is~~ that
there is a Hungarian proverb
which says: If you have
buried your cat the
wrong way you can not get

you must

~~It is the right of you that~~
~~unbroken~~ ~~the~~ ~~to~~
set it right,

He who has been used ~~to~~
his eyes the wrong way ~~and~~
~~must~~ ~~unbroken~~ ~~of~~ ~~be~~ ~~and~~
~~sure~~ ~~to~~ ~~do~~
~~what~~ ~~to~~ ~~has~~ ~~no~~ ~~choice~~ ~~but~~
~~to~~ ~~unbroken~~ ~~before~~
~~must~~ ~~to~~ ~~button~~ ~~it~~ ~~right~~ *
~~must~~ ~~unbroken~~ ~~at~~ ~~first~~ ~~before~~
~~to~~ ~~unbroken~~ ~~to~~
he can button it right, —

I wish to submit that —
~~if~~ ~~we~~ ~~want~~ ~~to~~ ~~do~~ ~~so~~
in the situation which has
arisen — if we wish to do
~~so~~ right has been, by the
Chinese, by Western Europe
and by our boys now allowed
we should without delay
offer what was demanded

American must regard
as a just peace.

~~Let us ask them
to propose~~

Let us without delay offer
them a

There are two alternatives
either:

1.) We shall propose to
establish the status quo
ante with the 38th parallel
dividing the two Koreas and
China guaranteeing that there
will be ~~no~~ no armed attack
by the North on the South.

as a temporary solution

~~Let us propose a~~

Let this solution be remained in
force until there is an overall
settlement, both with America
and China within the framework

of such an overall settlement
a united Korea may be created.
~~It is the view of the~~
~~State Dept that the~~
of such a united Korea might
be a great advantage to the U.S.
~~as well as~~ just as the
of China by that means might be
beneficial to the U.S. But let
us be under no illusion
that the power of the
united Korea will be a
dramatic gain ~~to the~~
~~to the~~ as well as to
the

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