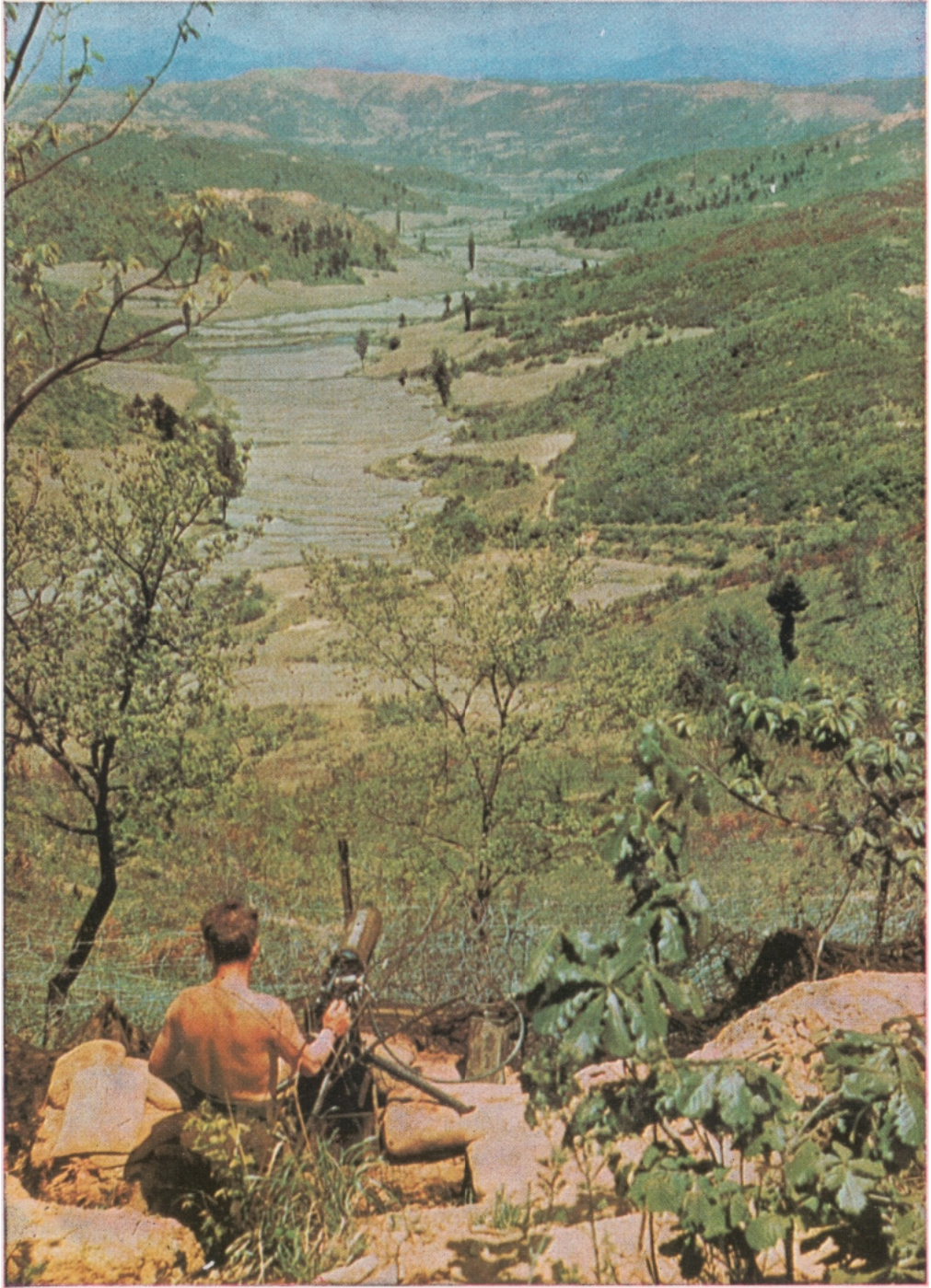


*Official History of the Canadian Army
in Korea*

STRANGE BATTLEGROUND

NOTE

In the writing of this volume the author has been given full access to relevant official documents in possession of the Department of National Defence; but the inferences drawn and the opinions expressed are those of the author himself, and the Department is in no way responsible for his reading or presentation of the facts as stated.



STRANGE BATTLEGROUND

P.J. Tomelin

OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN ARMY

STRANGE BATTLEGROUND

THE OPERATIONS IN KOREA
AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE
DEFENCE POLICY OF CANADA

By
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HERBERT FAIRLIE WOOD
The Army Historical Section

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This book deals with the part played by the Canadian Army during the United Nations intervention in the Korean war. In these hostilities, there was no declaration of war by Canada, or for that matter by any of the 15 other nations who answered the U.N. call for troops. This was "collective action to resist aggression". Nevertheless, all the elements of war were present and to those who participated it was not the less war-like because it was called something else. The force involved was small compared to the armies Canada sent abroad in the First and Second World Wars. As a result, it has been possible to include both defence policy and military operations in one volume and greater space has been available both for an examination of administrative problems and a closer look at the battlefield than was the case in previous volumes of the Army's history. The aim of the present book remains the same: to inform the Canadian public, while providing an aid to military students.

The two previous twentieth century wars in which Canadian forces played a part claimed the attention of the entire nation. The Korean war, however, was but one of several Canadian defence preoccupations during the early years of the nineteen-fifties. The sudden threat of a new war in Europe, the formation of NATO, the struggles within the United Nations and the problems of national defence arising from the development of long-range missiles, shared the stage and complicated everything from the allocation of funds to priorities for manpower. This account of Canadian military operations in Korea, therefore, includes developments elsewhere to the extent that they influenced, or were influenced by, that distant battle area.

The sources for the narrative, aside from the large body of published material generally available, have been the war diaries of the units concerned, the reports of historical officers in the theatre, the files of the Department of National Defence, the unit journals and battle reports so helpfully made available by the Office of the Chief of Military History of the United States Department of the Army and, through the liberality of the Historical Section of the British Cabinet Office, the official reports and war diaries of the British units which participated. The main sources for the discussion of defence policy, apart from Departmental files, have been the official records of the United Nations, the published papers of the Canadian Parliament, and U.S. Congressional publications. The Department of External Affairs has also been helpful, providing confirmation of points of policy and commenting generally on the manuscript.

It is a pleasure for the author to acknowledge the contributions of Captain F. R. McGuire and Lieutenant R. I. Martin. In addition to drafting

Chapters XI and XIII, Captain McGuire's knowledge of the events of 1950-53, gained during the writing of the Summary of Operations in Korea published in 1956, has been of great value. Lieutenant Martin drafted Chapters X and XII while carrying out his many research assignments. The author's thanks go also to Colonel C. P. Stacey and the many officers of all ranks, too numerous to mention, whose comments helped so much to supplement the records and round out the account.

No list of acknowledgements would be complete without the name of Major H. W. Thomas whose comprehensive report on the Canadian participation in the Korean war, completed in 1953, was an invaluable aid.

The author also acknowledges with thanks the patience and competence of Mme. R. Côté and Mrs. W. L. Power in typing the many drafts, while the industry of Staff Sergeant A. A. Azar and Sergeant P. R. Marshall, the former in his work on the Index, the latter in his mastery of the Korean material, is beyond praise. In the preparation of the maps, which speak for themselves, Sergeant E. H. Ellwand was assisted by Corporal D. S. Kesselring.

With all these the author gladly shares whatever satisfaction is to be derived from the publication of this book, but in the words of his predecessors in the Section, "he must take full responsibility for the chapters as now printed, for all have undergone considerable revision at his hands."

The writer's gratitude to the photographers, military and civilian, who captured so successfully the atmosphere of the campaign is great; there were no war artists commissioned to work in Korea. These photographers' mastery of their craft has made it possible to illustrate the stern realities of that strange and haunting little country.

Readers who discover errors in this volume are asked to communicate with the author.

H.F.W.

Army Historical Section,
Ottawa, Canada.

KOREAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Some Korean place-names are followed by a descriptive, hyphenated suffix. "Bong", "pong" or "san" denotes a mountain; "ch'on", "gang" or "kang" a river; "do" an island; and "dong", "gol", "kol", "li", "ni" or "ri" a settlement.

CHAPTER I

TROUBLE IN KOREA

The Invasion

AT FOUR O’CLOCK on the morning of Sunday, 25 June, 1950, armed forces of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, a Communist state, advanced southward across the 38th parallel of north latitude into the neighbouring Republic of Korea. Small formations struck at various points along the border, to tie down defending forces, while two main columns, supported by tanks, thrust towards Seoul, the capital city of the Republic of Korea. Later in the morning, the North Koreans issued a formal declaration of war, charging that the Republic of Korea had prompted the action by initiating an act of aggression.

The Background of the Conflict

The immediate sequence of events that brought modern war to this small, spiny appendage of Asia began in Cairo in November 1943, when Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek met to decide the fate of Japan. Their Cairo Declaration promised, “in due course Korea shall become free and independent”.¹

Korea had long been a battleground for contending Asiatic nations. Dominated for a millennium by China, the small kingdom had latterly served as a stepping-stone for the Japanese Empire in its assaults on Manchuria. Emulating the tactics of the trading nations of the West, the Japanese had first negotiated a trade treaty with Korea in 1876 and then proceeded to infiltrate the country. The successful termination of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894, fought largely over these encroachments, left the Japanese a free hand in Korea. They gradually consolidated their influence until, after winning the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, they annexed Korea in 1910 as a Japanese colony.²

In 1945, after the defeat of Japan by the nations of the West, peace seemed possible in Korea. But before long, the country’s geographical position once again turned it into a battleground.

When the Japanese surrendered in August 1945, the first task facing the Allies in Korea was the disarming of the Japanese forces and the division of that responsibility between the Soviet Union and the United States. The choice of the 38th parallel as a dividing line was based on administra-

tive considerations: American military planners wanted two ports of entry. Pusan and Inch'on offered the best facilities and so a line north of Seoul was in American minds when they discussed details with the Soviet Union at the Potsdam conference.³ The 38th parallel was suggested as an appropriate dividing-line.⁴

The Soviet Union agreed and halted its armies at this point. But the American forces, taken somewhat by surprise by the Japanese collapse, found the distance too great and their strength insufficient. Nearly a month elapsed before General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in the Far East, landed at Inch'on a hastily organized force which accepted the surrender of all Japanese troops south of the 38th parallel, and began to restore order. The task was complicated by a suspicious population clamouring for immediate independence, a proliferation of unstable political parties, and the presence of the Soviet forces some 50 miles north of Seoul.

The United States was now facing the Soviet Union across several artificial demarcation lines around the world. The defeat of the Axis powers in 1945 was not to bring peace. The Western Allies were soon to find themselves engaged in a new, more subtle, but equally vital struggle with their former ally, the Soviet Union. Four years of confrontation in Greece, Turkey, Iran, Trieste and Berlin would result in a crumbling away of the Grand Alliance until, in 1950, its former members were drifting to the verge of open hostilities. In 1945, however, these unhappy developments were not foreseen.

The Korean Peninsula is Divided

Although the United States had long had an interest in the Far East through its acquisition of the Philippines from Spain and its trading incursions into pre-war China, it had doubts about the strategic value of some of the islands, peninsulas and archipelagos it found itself controlling after the Second World War⁵. An early solution, for Korea at any rate, appeared to be a four-power trusteeship of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the Chinese Government of Chiang Kai-shek. The Canadian Prime Minister, W. L. Mackenzie King, had acquiesced in an Anglo-American agreement along these lines as early as November 1945.⁶ At the Moscow Conference held in the following month the Soviet Union appeared to agree too, recommending that a Joint Commission, consisting of representatives from the U.S. and U.S.S.R. commands in Korea, make suggestions to the four Powers for a trusteeship lasting up to five years.⁷

To the Koreans on both sides of the parallel this agreement was most unwelcome. "Trusteeship" resembled too closely their recent relationship with the Japanese. But the Soviet Union soon persuaded the people of the North to maintain a reluctant silence on the subject. The United States de-

cided to rely on Syngman Rhee.*

Rhee had been a rebel in exile in the United States for many years. When he arrived at Seoul in October, 1945, he was seventy years old, but such was the reverence his name and reputation evoked that he was able to unite under his leadership all the splinter parties in the South except the Communists. When news of the trusteeship agreement precipitated riots and strikes, Rhee reluctantly complied with American requests that he order them stopped. The fact that he was able to do so made him indispensable thereafter.

During the next few months the 38th parallel hardened into a boundary line. The two sides of the Joint Commission could not agree on which Korean political parties should be called into consultation; the Russian delegation would not consider any with a rightist flavour, the Americans wanted no Communists. The basic obstacle was that each nation wanted a Korean government friendly to itself. On 6 May 1946 the American delegation to the Joint Commission reported failure, stating that the Soviet representative refused to negotiate with any section of the South Korean community that had voiced an objection to the Moscow trusteeship agreement. Since almost every South Korean party except the Communists had so objected, the American occupying power would not agree to this restriction.⁸ The deadlocked Commission adjourned indefinitely and the Soviet delegation withdrew behind the 38th parallel.

Progress Towards Self-Government

The first attempt at re-unification had failed. Each occupying power now set out to replace the chaotic conditions in its region with civic order and stability. Reconstruction was complicated by the artificial border; most of the country's food was grown by the twenty million Koreans south of it, and most of the power, coal and minerals came from the industrialized north with its population of nine million. By the end of 1946 Syngman Rhee was appealing to the United Nations to do something: either to end the division of his country or make some special provision for his starving unemployed people. In May of 1947, after a flurry of notes in which both sides appeared ready to compromise, the Joint Commission met again, but to no purpose. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall plan, designed as they were to arrest Soviet expansionist moves in Europe, had their inevitable effect in Seoul, and the Soviet Union returned to its original position.⁹

The American Government made the next move. In September it announced its intention of laying the whole matter before the United Nations. It was a shrewd step and the Soviet reaction was swift; it suggested as an

*The customary way of writing Korean names is with the surname first. In Rhee's case, his long exile in western countries led him to westernize his.

alternative that both sides withdraw their forces from Korea by January 1948, leaving the Koreans free to choose a government without outside interference. On the surface this seemed a good solution, but the Americans rejected it because they had known for some time that the Soviet Union was training strong, North Korean armed forces.¹⁰ To evacuate the peninsula so: quickly would be to leave the South Korean majority at the mercy of the heavily armed North. On 13 November 1947, the American delegation described its Government's position before the General Assembly and asked it to intervene. The General Assembly voted to do so and a U.N. Temporary Commission was directed to proceed to Korea for the purpose of supervising free and secret elections for a National Assembly.¹¹

On arriving in Seoul, in January 1948, the Temporary Commission found that the Communists in North Korea would not communicate with it, while the Soviet delegation to the United Nations also refused to discuss the matter. As a result, on 26 February the Interim Committee of the General Assembly instructed the Commission to conduct elections in that part of Korea occupied by the United States.¹² On 1.0 May 1948 the election was held, against a background of Communist protest. In a heavy vote, the Rhee coalition received a decisive mandate and in August the United States occupying authorities handed over the reins of Government to the "Republic of Korea". The Soviet Union's answer was to create in North Korea a "Democratic People's Republic of Korea" under the control of a communist guerrilla leader from Manchuria who had adopted the name of a famous Korean patriot, Kim Il Sung.

Both Governments claimed the right to rule all of Korea, but the North Korean regime established a firmer hold on its part of the country by creating a one-party government and a large, well-equipped modern armed force.

The debate about the withdrawal of occupying troops filled the remainder of 1948. The Soviet Union took the offensive in this exchange, and when Rhee asked publicly that U.S. troops remain, he was branded a traitor to the Korean people by the Communist North. The United States faced a dilemma. It was obvious that Rhee's financially shaky and increasingly autocratic regime, although still enjoying majority support, was not strong enough to withstand on its own the devastating Communist propaganda and the infiltration of Communist agitators from the North. On the other hand, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had decided in 1947 that Korea had little strategic interest.¹³ The Soviet's announcement in December, that it had withdrawn all its troops from North Korea forced the United States to make a decision and it began a gradual reduction of its forces. But in the following February it announced that the remainder would: stay on at the request of President Rhee to train South Korean levies in constabulary duties and border defence. By early summer MacArthur had satisfied himself that the South Koreans could handle their own internal security and con-

curred in a general withdrawal. At a time when the victories of the Chinese Communists were forcing Chiang Kai-shek from the mainland and the American advisory teams from their base ports, the last field units of American troops sailed away from South Korea. The South Koreans were on their own, with the exception of a small U.S. Military Advisory Group, the United Nations Commission, and various technical and economic advisory staffs. The United States left behind a South Korean Army armed with small arms and mortars, but without tanks, heavy guns or aircraft.

Several reasons have been given for leaving the South Korean army so ill-equipped. Testifying before a joint Armed Service and Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate in 1951, Secretary of State Dean Acheson stated that the South Koreans did not know how to use modern heavy equipment and the U.S. did not have any to give. A suggestion by one of the Committee that the South Koreans had not been adequately armed because the United States Government was afraid they might attack North Korea received no confirmation from Mr. Acheson.¹⁴

Not long after the U.S. withdrawal trouble flared up along the 38th parallel, as North Korean patrols both large and small invaded the southern Republic. The border was soon in a continual state of alarm and the U.N. Commission on Korea, which had replaced the Temporary Commission, warned the United Nations repeatedly that civil war could break out at any time.¹⁵ When the North Koreans confirmed this view with invasion threats the Commission's powers were at once widened to include investigations of frontier violations. There was no lack of evidence, but the daily exchange of machine-gun fire they reported masked a more serious menace. On 10 March 1950 the weekly intelligence cable to Washington from General MacArthur's Headquarters in Tokyo noted that there were indications of major troop movements in areas just north of the 38th parallel and a report had been received that the People's Army would invade South Korea in June 1950. In commenting on these reports, however, American Intelligence in Tokyo was inclined to play down the likelihood of war; there had been several false alarms of this kind throughout the winter.¹⁶ MacArthur's staff continued to assert that the North Koreans would confine their activities to subversion and guerrilla activities. This feeling had undoubtedly contributed to the over-optimism that had prompted military withdrawal; Tokyo and Washington reacted to the news of the invasion when it finally came with surprise and consternation. There had been ample warning; the reason seems to have been an inability to separate rumour and propaganda from fact.

The election of 1950 in South Korea may have decided the date for invasion. The constitution of 1948 specified that in May 1950 a General Election would be held to choose a National Assembly for a four year period. But on 31 March President Rhee, whose government had been feeling strong winds of criticism for its inflationary fiscal policies and its repres-

sive state police, issued a decree postponing the elections until November. The reason given was that more time was needed to prepare a budget for presentation to the new Assembly. The U.S. Government, however, was in no mood to agree; such a postponement would have made a mockery of the untried constitution. President Rhee was told that United States support would be withdrawn if the election were postponed.¹⁷ He cancelled his decree and on 30 May the election was duly held. One result was predictable: Rhee's support in the Assembly was almost washed away. But few communists had been elected – the South Korean people for the most part chose moderates to represent them. This dashed whatever hopes the North Koreans may have had that South Korea would succumb via the ballot box; invasion must have seemed the only way left to make the peninsula into one Communist state.

Reaction to the Invasion

In June 1950, there was a time difference of 13 hours between Seoul and New York. At about 9:30 p.m. on 24 June, the U.S. Government received word of the invasion from its Ambassador to the Republic of Korea. The United States asked for a meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations and the Council met at Lake Success on the afternoon of 25 June.* After noting a report from the United Nations Commission and an appeal for assistance from South Korea, the Council heard the United States representative read a draft resolution which, omitting the preamble, ran as follows:

The Security Council, –

“I *Calls for* the immediate cessation of hostilities; *calls upon* the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the thirty-eight parallel;

II *Requests* the United Nations Commission on Korea:

- (a) to communicate its fully considered recommendations on the situation with the least possible delay ;
- (b) to observe the withdrawal of the North Korean forces to the thirty-eight parallel;
- (c) to keep the Security Council informed on the execution of this resolution;

III *Calls upon* all members to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Korean authorities.”¹⁸

The Soviet delegates, who were boycotting the meeting of all organs and agencies of the United Nations where representatives of Nationalist China were present, challenged the power of the Security Council to take action on the invasion in their absence. They based their argument on the five affirmative votes required by the Charter to give legal effect to deci-

*Canada was not at this time a member of the Security Council. There were five permanent members: China, France, the U.S.S.R., the U.K., and the U.S. The non-permanent members in June 1950 were Cuba, Egypt, Norway, Ecuador, India and Yugoslavia.

sions of the Council on such matters. The Americans argued that abstention from voting did not constitute a veto and cited the several previous occasions on which the Soviet Union had abstained, without subsequently challenging the validity of the resolutions.¹⁹ The location of the invasion and the absence of the Soviet delegate from the Security Council were two features of the situation which were to have important – even decisive – effects on subsequent developments. The situation held serious possibilities of a general war, since the 38th parallel formed a line of contact between Soviet Union and United States spheres of influence. But the absence of the Soviet delegate made it possible to hope that the Security Council, freed from the shackles of the veto, might be able to take the action its Western members had envisaged for it: armed resistance to aggression. The presence of the United Nations Commission in Korea when the invasion took place made it possible for the United Nations to get an authoritative report of the invasion and helped India and other neutralist nations to decide to support subsequent resolutions.

In Canada on 26 June, the 21st Parliament was working towards the end of its second session. The previous weekend had been fine and warm and most of official Ottawa had spent it at beach and cottage remote from the Capital. Those who had listened to their radios at 2:00 p.m. on Sunday had heard the news of the invasion and had hurried back to their desks. Now, on the following Monday, ironically, the Commons planned to continue the debate on the Defence estimates. But before it formed itself into Committee of Supply, Mr. George Drew, the Leader of the Opposition, asked for information on “the extremely serious situation which has developed over the week-end in Korea”.²⁰

In rising to reply, Mr. L. B. Pearson, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, pointed out that Canada had no representative in Korea and that the Government had to rely on the United Nations for its information. He then read the resolution passed the previous day.* Although Canada was not on the Security Council her acting Permanent Representative to the U.N., Mr. John Holmes (who had learned of the invasion from the radio), attended the meetings and relayed reports to Ottawa.²¹ Members expressed concern over the safety of Canadian nationals in the country, and were reassured by the Minister.†

Later, when the House continued the debate on the Defence Estimates, on which it had been working sporadically since 8 June, several members asked Mr. Brooke Claxton, the Minister of National Defence, if his estimates, which came to about \$425,000,000, were large enough in view of the grave news from Korea. The Minister replied that “having re-

*Of the 11 member States on the Council, nine had voted for this resolution, one (Yugoslavia) had abstained, and the U.S.S.R. was absent.

†There were a few Canadians in Korea. Some 10 or 12 missionaries and a party of 10 diamond drillers working for an American company are known to have been evacuated.

gard to our resources, our needs, our capacities and our responsibilities, we believe that on any basis the amount we are spending today represents a fair contribution towards collective security".²² He went on to say that the Government was carefully watching the situation and that if developments gave rise to the need for action, action would certainly be taken. After some further debate, the Defence Estimates were then passed. They were to prove inadequate within a month.

The Joint Intelligence Committee of the Canadian Chiefs of Staff had begun at once to assess the danger. The Chairman of the Canadian Joint Staff in London, Major-General S. F. Clark, had written that the United Kingdom Chiefs of Staff were stressing the importance of "showing the U.S.S.R., its satellites and Japan that the North Atlantic Treaty and Commonwealth powers are solidly behind the action taken by the United States in Korea".²³ Major-General Clark went on to say:

The UK Chiefs of Staff doubted if the forces from Northern Korea could be driven back without assistance in the way of land forces but they did not consider it was desirable to recommend at this stage the movement of any land or air forces from Hong Kong. They are however studying the whole Far Eastern situation with a view to determining whether or not land forces could be made available from Hong Kong.²⁴

On 29 June the Joint Intelligence Committee, after obtaining from the Canadian Army Staff in Washington an estimate of the strengths and capabilities of the contending forces in Korea, decided that "aid is necessary immediately" and suggested that the appropriate priorities would be fighter aircraft, anti-tank weapons and artillery, fighter bombers; tanks and anti-aircraft artillery and ships. There was no suggestion in this that Canada should make up all, or any of these deficiencies; the list was intended as a guide to possible action. No mention was made at this time of any need for land forces.²⁵ These priorities were obvious after a study of the two armies. The 95,000-man army and 12,000-man constabulary of North Korea were armed with over one hundred medium tanks and large numbers of both field and heavy artillery. The 96,000 men of the Army of the Republic of Korea had no armour, few anti-tank guns and inadequate artillery. The North Korean air force was estimated to consist of over one hundred Russian Yak-3 fighters and IL-10 ground attack aircraft. The South Koreans had no air force.

The United States Acts

In Korea, meanwhile, the invaders were advancing rapidly. Armed with Soviet T34 tanks, Soviet weapons and Soviet vehicles, the North Korean People's Army surprised and quickly overwhelmed the lightly armed, inadequately trained forces of the Republic of Korea. By 27 June the invaders had covered the 50 miles separating Seoul from the 38th parallel,

captured the capital, and closed up to the line of the Han river, just south of Seoul. After seizing a bridgehead over the river, they paused to reorganize.

Realizing that only prompt action would forestall a rapid occupation by Communist forces of the whole Korean peninsula, the United States reacted swiftly. The President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, felt that his country must intervene in Korea, whether or not the United Nations decided to take any form of direct action to defeat the invasion. In Mr. Truman's view, "if South Korea was allowed to fall, Communist leaders would be emboldened to override nations closer to our own shores".²⁶ On 27 June he issued a statement.

In Korea the Government forces, which were armed to prevent border raids and to preserve internal security, were attacked by invading forces from North Korea. The Security Council of the United Nations called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the thirty-eighth parallel. This they have not done, but on the contrary have pressed the attack. The Security Council called upon all members of the United Nations to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution. In these circumstances I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support.

The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war. It had defied the orders of the Security Council of the United Nations issued to preserve international peace and security. In these circumstances the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area.

Accordingly I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa. As a corollary of this action I am calling upon the Chinese Government on Formosa to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. The Seventh Fleet will see that this is done.²⁷

This statement of intent reversed the American policy of withdrawal from the mainland of Asia and overrode the official American military view that Korea was not vital to American strategic plans.

Much depended on what the other members of the United Nations were going to do. The U.S.S.R., if it returned, was certain to be in violent opposition, while support from India, a moulder of Asian opinion, was doubtful. Canada, while supporting the broad policy of the statement, was careful to avoid undertaking any additional commitments which might follow from American action in relation to Formosa. This was made clear by Mr. Pearson in August, when, in bringing the House of Commons up to date on the dramatic events of June and July, he stressed that Canada was concerned solely with "carrying out our United Nations obligations".²⁸ The President's reference to a possible "direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area" could mean that he was prepared, on the issue of Korea, to fight a war in defence of threatened national interests. But the resolution passed by the Security Council a few hours after the President's

statement was issued concentrated exclusively on Korea, in such terms as to enlist the widest support.

The Security Council

Having determined that the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace,

Having called for an immediate cessation of hostilities, and

Having called upon the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the 38th parallel; and

Having noted from the report of the United Nations Commission for Korea that the authorities in North Korea have neither ceased hostilities nor withdrawn their armed forces to the 38th parallel and that urgent military measures are required to restore international peace and security, and

Having noted the appeal from the Republic of Korea to the United Nations for immediate and effective steps to secure peace and security;

Recommends that the Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area.²⁹

The Canadian Dilemma

The Canadian Government, while agreeing in principle with the moves made to halt aggression, seemed anxious to avoid any precipitate action; the Far East had never been an area in which Canada had any special national interest. While the United States was hurrying forces into the area, Canada's contributions came piecemeal, and then only after the U.N. itself made formal requests. On 28 June, as the North Koreans were consolidating their hold on Seoul, Mr. Pearson reported to the House of Commons on developments in Korea. Canada, he said, would be conferring with other members of the U.N. as to what part she could and should take. The House agreed that since the Estimates of the Department of External Affairs would be debated on the next day, discussion of the crisis could appropriately be deferred until then.³⁰ The next day, shortly after the debate got under way, Mr. Pearson announced that the Government had received a request from the U.N. for one or two military observers to serve with the U.N. Commission on Korea.* This had been agreed to.³¹ It is apparent from a study of Hansard of those days that there was little for the members to debate. All parties in the House were in agreement that Canada should do something and that quickly; all agreed to support the Government in whatever action it deemed necessary to demonstrate the effectiveness of collective security; but there was little more the members could do beyond expressing concern.

As the North Korean armies broke out of their Han river bridgehead and struck southward, their successes continued to monopolize the headlines and the sense of crisis deepened. The President of the United States

*The officers selected, Lt.-Col. F. E. White and Wing Commander H. Malkin, arrived in Korea on 24 July 1950.

had, on 27 June, ordered American air and naval units to give cover and support to the South Korean troops. Two days later, implementing the Security Council's resolutions, he had authorized General MacArthur, who as "Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers" was administering the occupation of Japan, to use ground troops as well and elements of the 24th U.S. Infantry Division, on occupation duties in Japan, were hurriedly dispatched to Korea to bolster the shaken South Korean forces. What was Canada going to do? June 30 had been selected as the day to prorogue Parliament and no positive statement had yet been made

Amid this feeling of a growing urgency, the Prime Minister, Mr. Louis St. Laurent, made a statement. His speech on 30 June disclosed at least one of the problems facing the Government.

... any participation by Canada in carrying out the UN resolution – and I wish to emphasize this strongly – would not be participation in war against any state. It would be our part in collective police action under the control and authority of the United Nations for the purpose of restoring peace ... It is only in such circumstances that this country would be involved in action of this kind.

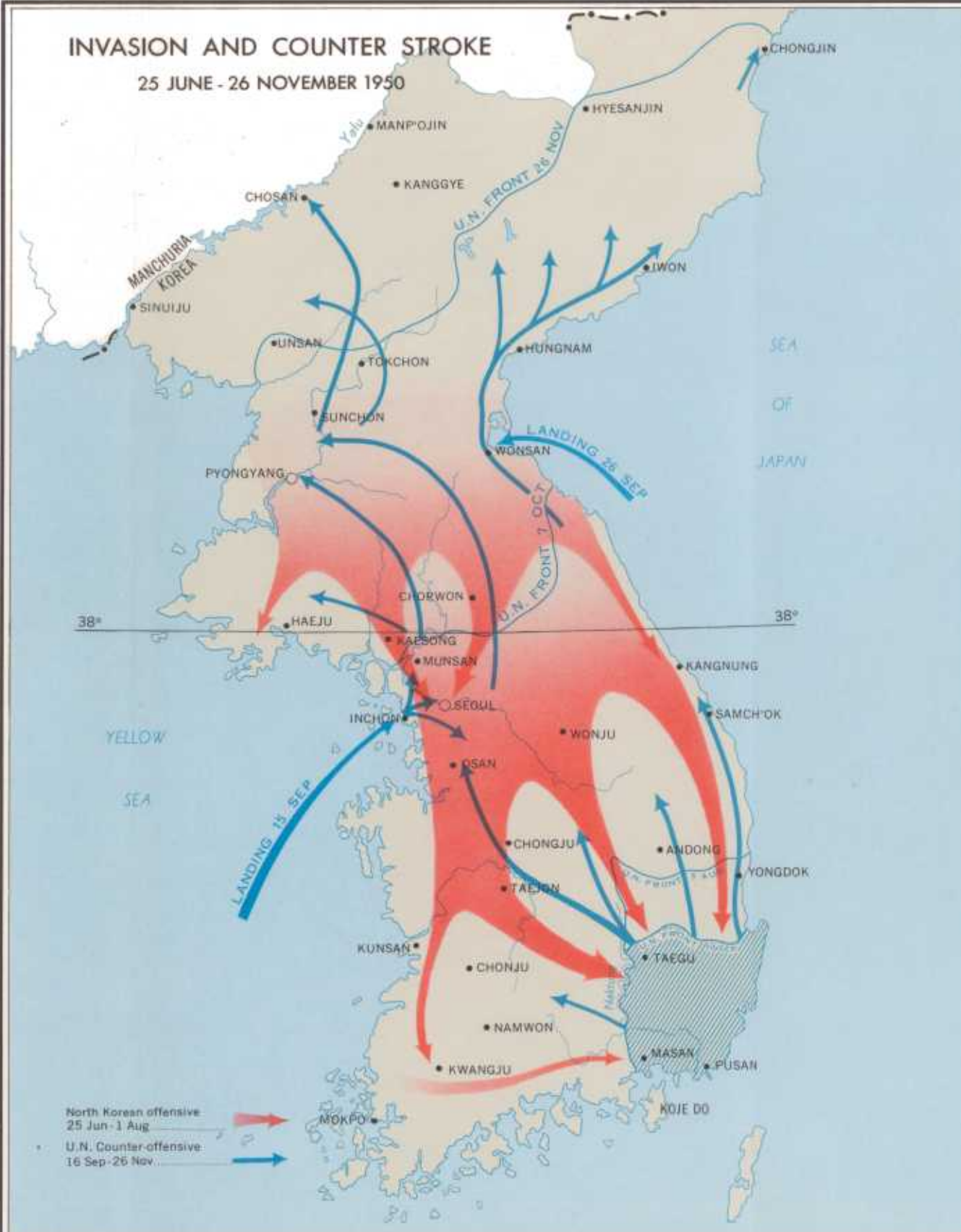
Mr. St. Laurent then went on to say that if Canada were to be informed by the United Nations that such a police action under a U.N. Commander would achieve the ends of peace, Canada would immediately consider a contribution. In the meantime three destroyers of the Pacific Division based on Esquimalt, which had been preparing for a European cruise, would move into Far Eastern waters, to be available if required to cooperate with other U.N. naval forces.* The Prime Minister closed his remarks by saying that the attitude of the House in the last two days had given the Government a mandate to undertake collective action with the other members of the U.N. to restore peace in Korea.³³ After short speeches by the leaders of the parties in opposition, the House passed the normal Government Appropriation Bill and Parliament was prorogued.

By 6 July, MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo reported that seven North Korean divisions and three Border Constabulary Brigades had been identified in action against the disorganized South Korean forces. The build-up of American ground forces in South Korea continued and divisions in the United States were prepared for embarkation. On 1 July leading elements of the 24th Division landed at Pusan and headed north, by rail and road, to render aid to the South Korean Army. As the balance of this division was moved to Korea, two other divisions which had been participating in the occupation of Japan, the 1st Cavalry (actually infantry) and 25th Infantry Divisions, prepared to follow. The sole remaining division in Japan, the 7th, was stripped of fighting men to bring the others up to strength. The leading element of these forces, called Task Force Smith after its Commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Smith, met the North Korean forces north of Osan on 5 July 1950. On 15 July the Canadian Ambassador to the United States reported that the Korean crisis had speeded up developments in other fields. American public opinion, which had been inclined to resist increased appropriations for defence, was changing and the U.S. Government seized the opportunity to expand its inadequate forces. The President had asked Congress for an additional \$260,000,000 for atomic weapons, including work on a hydrogen bomb; on 13 July he stated at a press conference that mobilization of both industry and manpower was being considered; aircraft production was being accelerated, and plans were

*On 5 July, H.M.C. Ships Cayuga, Athabaskan and Sioux sailed from Esquimalt bound for Pearl Harbor.³²

INVASION AND COUNTER STROKE

25 JUNE - 26 NOVEMBER 1950

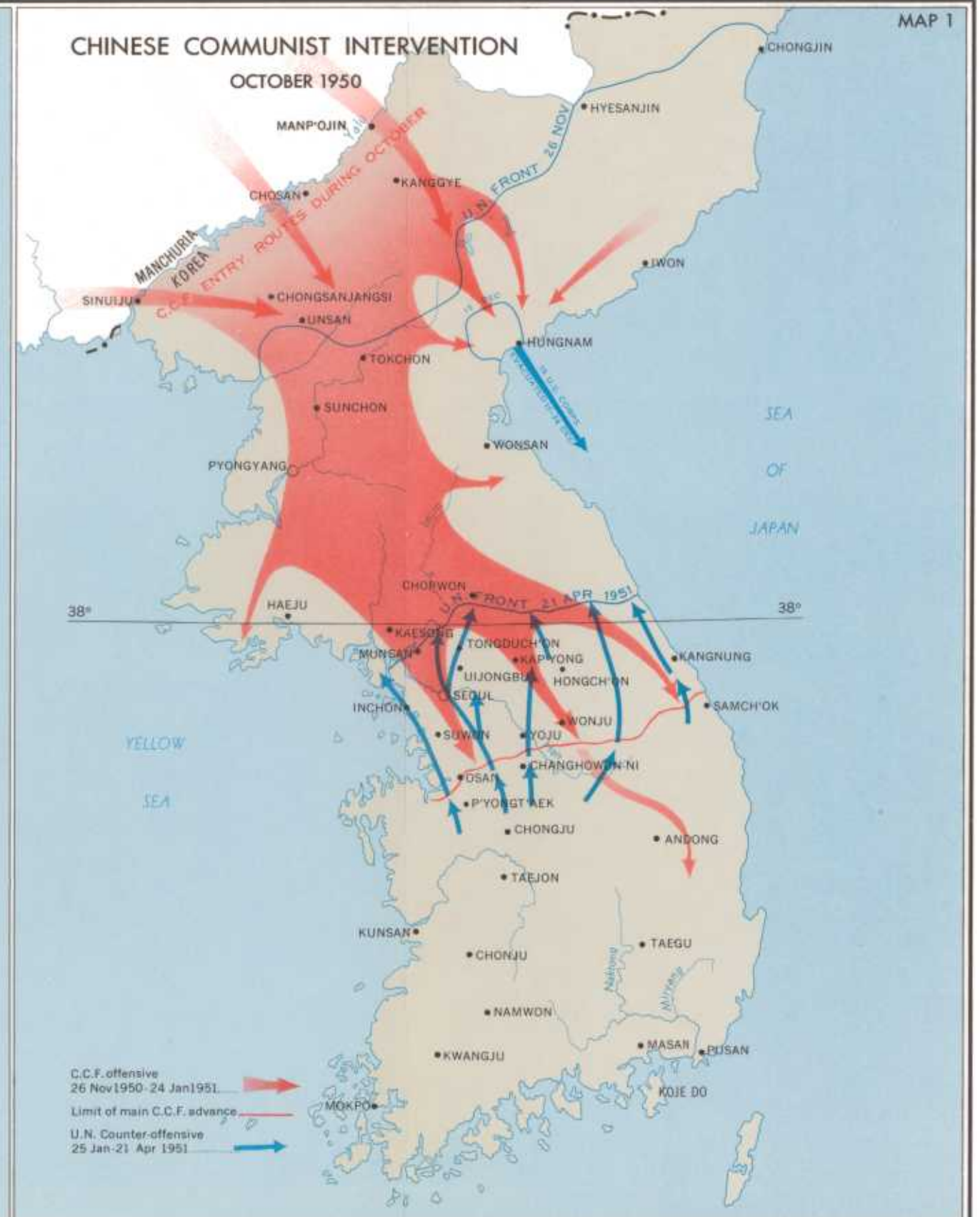


North Korean offensive
25 Jun - 1 Aug

U.N. Counter-offensive
16 Sep - 26 Nov

CHINESE COMMUNIST INTERVENTION

OCTOBER 1950



C.C.F. offensive
26 Nov 1950 - 24 Jan 1951

Limit of main C.C.F. advance

U.N. Counter-offensive
25 Jan - 21 Apr 1951

being completed to increase the armed forces by some 250,000 men.³⁴

The weeks that followed were filled with tension. As the North Korean armies continued their attacks southward, American aircraft gained control of the skies over Korea, but aerial assaults on the armoured columns of the invaders were not enough to stem their advance. More American troops were hastily dispatched from occupation duties in Japan and thrown into action. These troops had been organized to act as constabulary, rather than as operational units; they were undertrained for war and under-equipped. Nevertheless, they were flung piecemeal into the Korean fighting in an attempt to slow the thrusts from the North, and salvage something from the disintegrating South Korean forces. The rearguard actions which ensued would have tested the stamina of the best trained units; for a few fantastic weeks the ground forces of the United States faced a better equipped and better trained army.³⁵

The intermingled American and South Korean troops were forced steadily southward, but as more American units were hurried into the theatre, the rate of the North Korean advance slowed. Nevertheless, outnumbered and outgunned, the U.N. Command, as it was now called, kept falling back. The Commander of the hardpressed 24th Division, Major-General William Dean, was captured during the confused fighting.

Throughout July the news was all bad. By the end of the month three U.S. and five reorganized South Korean divisions were boxed into the south-east corner of the country with their backs to the port of Pusan. The bridgehead that resulted had a perimeter from Yongdok on the east coast, thence inland some fifty miles to the Naktong river valley and south to the sea near Masan. According to U.S. Intelligence estimates, the combined U.N. strength, including base units and Headquarters staffs, was about 160,000. Opposing them along the 150 miles of battle front were 200,000 North Koreans organized into 15 divisions and an armoured brigade. It seemed quite possible that the defenders of South Korea would soon be driven out. On 21 July the Canadian Government announced that it was allocating an R.C.A.F. transport squadron to support the U.N. Command.*

The Growth of the United Nations Forces

The demobilization that had followed the victories in 1945 had left the western democracies very short of soldiers. Nevertheless by 2 August the Americans had three infantry divisions and two regimental combat teams in Korea with a Marine Division and a fourth infantry division, the 2nd, on the way from the United States. This was more than 50 per cent of all organized American field forces. Britain, whose forces were scattered

*No. 426 Squadron, R.C.A.F., consisting of six North Star aircraft, flew regularly scheduled flights between McCord Air Force Base, Washington, and Haneda airfield, Tokyo, from 27 July 1950. Later, the number of aircraft was increased to 12.

over a wide area including North-West Europe, Austria, Trieste, the Middle East and the Far East, had reluctantly ordered a small infantry brigade from Hong Kong to proceed to Korea until a brigade group, including an armoured regiment, could be mobilized and sent from England. There was, however, some difficulty in raising Engineer, Light Anti-aircraft and Medium Artillery units for this new formation and the War Office had requested the unofficial reaction of Commonwealth countries to filling out the order of battle with Dominion contingents.³⁶ At this time Australia had made no definite commitment, but was thinking in terms of a Brigade Group of Australians and New Zealanders as part of a Commonwealth Division. New Zealand promised one artillery unit and India promised a field ambulance and surgical units. Pakistan and Ceylon had made no commitments,³⁷ and South Africa had committed a squadron of Mustang fighter aircraft which had been on occupation duty in Japan. Few nations in the Commonwealth had forces in being which could be sent overseas without weakening home defences. This was particularly true of Canada.

CHAPTER II

CANADA FACES THE FAR EAST

The Condition of Canada's Army in 1950

THE CONDITION of Canada's armed forces was summed up by the Prime Minister in a radio address to the nation on 7 August.

"Since our wartime forces were demobilized", he said, "we have not attempted to maintain, in the Canadian Army, a fully trained expeditionary force available for immediate action outside Canada. We wanted to get the best values we could for the Canadian taxpayer's defence dollars; and for the Army, the first requirements were for our immediate territorial defence and for a basic training establishment".¹

The Army that entered 1950 had been organized after the Second World War. At that time two roles had been foreseen: first, the defence of North America in conjunction with U.S. Forces, and secondly, a capacity to super vise a general mobilization. On 24 June 1948, the Minister of National Defence had summarized these roles in the House of Commons as follows:

... the fact is that by themselves our forces could never deter the Russians, nor in a general conflict could they deliver a knock-out blow. What we want are forces which can defend Canada and enable us to play such part as parliament and the people may support in any efforts for common defence with other countries.

Against this background it is now possible to set down Canada's present defence aims and objectives. They are: (1) to provide the force estimated to be necessary to defend Canada against any sudden direct attack that could be or is likely to be directed against it in the near future; (2) to provide the operational and administrative staffs, equipment, training personnel and reserve organization which would be capable of expansion as rapidly as necessary to meet any need; and (3) to work out with other free nations plans for joint defence based on self-help and mutual aid as part of a combined effort to preserve peace and to restrain aggression.

While Mr. Claxton was thus summarizing the role of the Army in the post-war years, the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs was stressing at the U.N., the desirability of member nations earmarking forces for use as international police. Had this idea been accepted, however, Canada would have had difficulties finding such a force within the restricted establishments of its peacetime Army. No such role had been provided for.

At this time, it was the generally accepted view that any attack on North America would necessarily be diversionary in nature and that, even if the Soviet Union should be able to mount such limited diversionary attacks upon the United States, atomic weapons were unlikely to be used against many targets in Canada. As late as 11 November 1949 the Minister

of National Defence, expressing the consensus of military opinion at the time, could tell the House of Commons that, "any war [in which Canada would be involved] would be a world war involving all western peoples".²

In short, the official Canadian opinion as to the probable nature of a future war was that it would be fought primarily in Europe and that the major combatants would include both the Soviet Union and the United States. It followed, therefore, that Canada's role in such a conflict would not be too dissimilar from the part she had played in the Second World War. The great bulk of any Canadian contribution to an Allied military effort, in terms of either manpower or production, would be mobilized after the outbreak of hostilities, and the principal roles of the regular forces, initially at least, would be the territorial defence of Canada against diversionary attacks and the organizing and training of the forces called out on mobilization.

The result of this thinking was plainly reflected in the defence programmes of the time. During this period the specific projects which had been considered the most important were: the organization of the forces, officer training, the training of reserves, defence research, and the organization of Canadian industry with a view to defence.³ Since an attack on this country was considered feasible only by air or sea, the emphasis was naturally on those air force and naval equipments which were primarily defensive in nature. The stress placed on the aerial defence of Canada is illustrated by the fact that in 1948 the appropriations for the Royal Canadian Air Force and fleet air arm together were larger than those for either the Navy or the Army.⁴

In the discussions that followed the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945, the Navy had asked for two aircraft carriers, four cruisers, two flotillas of modern destroyers and 20,000 officers and men. The Air Force wanted a force of 30,000 and the Army proposed a strength of 55,000 to be obtained by compulsory universal service.⁵ The estimated annual cost of all this was \$290,000,000.⁶ But the Cabinet Defence Committee, which had replaced the Cabinet War Committee, adopted a cautious attitude. On 28 September 1945 it recommended to the Cabinet that it was not possible at that time to assess Canada's defence requirements and no final decisions should therefore be made as to the size of the forces the country should maintain in the post-war period. The Cabinet accepted this recommendation, but permitted the service Ministers to report to the House that for planning purposes the Navy was using the figure of 10,000, the Army 20,000 to 25,000 and the Air Force 15,000 to 20,000.⁷ This meant a virtual rejection of universal military training.⁸

By the end of 1945 the Cabinet had given approval in principle to a Navy of 10,000, an Air Force of 16,000 and an Army of 27,000. There were to be large volunteer reserves for all three services and the estimated annual cost, after certain non-recurring expenses had been met, would be \$172,000,000.⁹ These totals were not achieved. Mr. Brooke Claxton, who

became Minister of National Defence on 12 December, 1946, replacing the three wartime service Ministers, at once instituted economies. On 16 January 1947, he announced that the three services would only recruit to 75 per cent of the previously authorized strengths. The Army's part in the defence of Canada was entrusted to three parachute battalions, two armoured regiments, and a regiment of field artillery. The parachute battalions were grouped, on paper, in an organization called the Mobile Striking Force to be trained, when aircraft could be spared, with the R.C.A.F., which had 27 Mark IV Dakotas earmarked for this role.¹⁰ While the Brigadier General Staff (Plans) at Army Headquarters was designated as the Commander, there was no headquarters organization for the M.S.F., each unit being under command of the General Officer Commanding the region in which it was stationed.¹¹

These Active Force units, as they were called, were stationed in army camps across Canada. The two armoured regiments – the Royal Canadian Dragoons and Lord Strathcona's Horse, equipped with Sherman tanks and operating on a restricted establishment – were located at Camp Petawawa, Ontario and Currie Barracks, Calgary, Alberta. The 1st Royal Canadian Horse Artillery was at Camp Shilo, Manitoba, armed with 25-pounder field guns. The infantry was organized in regiments of one battalion each: The Royal Canadian Regiment at Camp Petawawa, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry at Currie Barracks, and the Royal 22e Régiment at Camp Valcartier in Québec. In addition, there were a few basic supporting units such as signals and engineers that had been kept at reduced establishments. A long-term building programme had been started at all these camps, but for the most part the accommodation consisted of temporary wartime barracks.

The rest of the Active Force was organized into schools of instruction, static service units and headquarters for five regional commands. The main role of the Commands, aside from the supervision of the Active Force in each region, was the training and maintenance of the Militia, or Reserve Force as it was called at that time. In each Command there were Personnel Depots, located provincially, which enlisted Active Force recruits and discharged soldiers not re-enlisting. In general, these were small units, consisting of an officer or two and a few clerks

The year 1949 had seen the Army, still rocking gently in the groundswell of the Second World War, settle down to peacetime soldiering. Thoughts had turned to stricter discipline, smarter appearance, and improved living and working conditions. In September 1949, the C.G.S., Lieutenant-General C. Foulkes, directed that a dress uniform be taken into wear by the Active Force not later than September 1950.¹² Even the Minister, who was watching costs, said at a meeting of the Defence Council that the time had come for units to wear full dress on ceremonial parades where stocks were available. Married quarters were being built in the camps and

some wartime barracks were being demolished to make way for permanent buildings. There had been a raise in pay in October 1948, and a further increase was contemplated.¹³

These efforts to offer an attractive career, supplemented by a recruiting campaign, began, in the later months of 1949, to produce satisfactory results. During the winter of 1949-50, enlistments into the Active Force reached the highest point since the war, and in February the Adjutant General was instructed to stop advertising for recruits, reduce the size of the Personnel Depots and enlist only enough men to replace wastage.¹⁴ At the same time enlistment standards were raised. On 30 June 1950, the day Parliament was prorogued, the strength of the Active Force was 20,369 all ranks; which did not even fill the restricted establishments.¹⁵

Early in July, 1950, the Director of Military Operations and Plans prepared an appreciation of the operational efficiency of the Active Force Brigade Group. This appreciation stated that if the units were immediately brought up to strength, and allowed to concentrate on training, they should be reasonably efficient in six months' time.¹⁶ This meant that the Regular Army (or Active Force as it was then called) was not only unable to provide an expeditionary force at once, but could not hope to carry out with any degree of success its two peacetime roles.

The Impact of the Crisis

As soon as it became evident, early in July, that Canada might be called on to support the U.N. resolutions with armed forces, the service chiefs began to study the problem. A complicating factor that existed from the outset was the feeling, held by at least one of the Chiefs of Staff, that the Soviet Union, through the North Korean adventure, might have been hoping to draw the forces of the western powers into this inaccessible spot in order to strike elsewhere without opposition.¹⁷ This feeling may help to explain the piecemeal nature of Canada's contributions, although a reluctance to be drawn into adventures in the Far East was probably more influential.

On 12 July the Government informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations that action was being taken to place the three destroyers which had sailed from Esquimalt under the operational control of the C.-in-C. of the U.N. forces. On 14 July the Secretary-General asked for more, requesting that Canada examine its capacity to provide an increased volume of combat forces, particularly ground forces, for service in Korea.¹⁸ On receipt of this request, the Minister met with the Chiefs of Staff to get their views prior to a Cabinet Defence Committee meeting called for 19 July to consider a reply.

The Navy viewpoint, as expressed by Rear Admiral F. L. Houghton, the Acting Chief of the Naval Staff, was that the three destroyers already dispatched were a fair contribution and in any event the ships on the East

Coast were committed to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Air Marshal W. A. Curtis, Chief of the Air Staff, disagreeing, offered an R.C.A.F. Transport Squadron of five North Star aircraft, which could later be increased to ten.¹⁹ The Chief of the General Staff was already thinking in terms of some specially enlisted force. At a meeting with his principal staff officers, held prior to the meeting with the Minister, Lieutenant-General Foulkes had asked for a report on the number of men applying at depots for service in Korea.²⁰ In presenting to the Minister four ways of using the Active Force, he said he did not like any of them, but of the four, preferred the contribution of an infantry brigade operating within a Commonwealth division. This would consist of three infantry battalions with a minimum of supporting arms and services. The three other courses were variations of larger formations of brigade group size which could operate independently, if necessary. Even the C.G.S.'s preferred course, which was the most modest of the four courses, would take almost every trained infantry soldier in the Army. He recommended that consideration be given to the recruiting of a special Korean force. This would leave the Mobile Striking Force intact, for its joint role with the U.S. in the defence of North America. In any event, the C.G.S. recommended that Canada wait and see whether a Commonwealth division was being contemplated. The Minister doubted that a special force could be raised soon enough, in view of the existing high employment rate as compared with 1939.²¹ With these views he and the C.G.S. attended the Cabinet Defence Committee meeting on 19 July.

The Minister informed the Committee that no "authoritative" request had been received for Canadian ground forces. The C.G.S. reported that he had been advised by the Chairman of the Canadian Joint Staff in Washington that the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had not been consulted on the matter of assistance from U.N. nations, nor were they clear as to how the ground forces would be integrated into General MacArthur's organization. The C.G.S. recommended a Commonwealth division.²²

As he left the meeting of 19 July, the Prime Minister was approached by representatives of the press. They were eager to know if there was to be any announcement of a Canadian U.N. force. In reply, Mr. St. Laurent confined himself to pointing out that the dispatch of ground troops to Korea would require Parliament's approval.²³

... Having in mind the other obligations for the employment of Canadian ground forces, the Cabinet has reached the conclusion that the dispatch, at this stage, of existing first line elements of the Canadian Army to the Korean theatre would not be warranted. However, with a view to strengthening the Canadian Army to meet future requirements, the Cabinet has authorized recruiting above present ceilings and the acceleration of other aspects of the Army programme. Should a decision be taken by the Security Council of the United Nations to recruit an international force for service, under the U.N. Commander, in Korea, the Canadian Government will give immediate consideration to Canadian participation in such an undertaking . . .²⁴

Later the same day the C.G.S. advised his colleagues at Army Head-

quarters that the Cabinet Defence Committee had decided that no ground force would be sent at the present time, but that if this eventually became necessary, its inclusion in a Commonwealth formation was desirable. Further, no ground forces would be sent unless they were up to strength and accompanied by adequate reinforcements.²⁵ This was a sound decision but it emphasized the unpalatable fact that no ground forces of any significant size were ready.

On 22 July the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King died in his seventy-sixth year. Speaking over the nation's radio system the next evening, Mr. St. Laurent called it the end of the Mackenzie King era. "Mr. King" he said, ". . . had three great aims in public affairs; the first was to achieve complete national autonomy for Canada without destroying our historical associations; the second was to strengthen the unity of the nation by scrupulous respect for the rights and traditions of all elements of our population and by the development of a genuine pride in our common homeland, our common history and our common citizenship; and the third was to give all Canadians a genuine sense of equality of opportunity by the promotion of social justice". The Prime Minister went on to say that such a programme needed times of peace. There can be little doubt that the Cabinet was profoundly unhappy over the necessity of once again debating war-like moves, so soon after 1945.

As the Prime Minister stated on 19 July, the Cabinet Defence Committee had decided to bring the Active Force field units up to strength as soon as possible and to increase the anti-aircraft element in the Army. The manpower "ceilings" under which the forces had been operating were lifted, and restrictions on establishments were removed. The results were disappointing. By the end of July, the Army's strength had actually dropped by 350, caused by "wastage", a term which included all types of discharge, including failure to re-enlist. The Minister was concerned. At a meeting with his Chiefs of Staff he said that far too many applicants were being turned away.²⁶ As a result of this meeting, it was decided to lower educational standards to war-time levels and re-introduce recruiting advertising.²⁷ The Army's Active Force, released from its manpower restrictions, now needed 4,000 men to fill its field units.

Despite suggestions in the press that it remain in session, Parliament had been prorogued on 30 June as planned. The Government was immediately assailed by opposition newspapers for this action:

Canadians today must feel frustrated and disappointed by Ottawa's performance in the Korean affair ... Canada, to the dismay of her citizens, is once again fumbling an opportunity in the sphere of international affairs. (*Globe and Mail*, 1 July 1950.)

The politicians who hold seats in Parliament today – the whole House, not only the government side – owe it to this country to face the problems. (*Vancouver Province*, 7 July.)

The Liberal press, however, was still behind the government:

Parliament showed Friday that it too is united behind the Security Council This nation will do its part as an honourable member of the UN. (*Winnipeg Free Press*, 3 July.)

The French language press had no consistent position but ranged from demands for complete non-intervention to general agreement with the Government's position. There were, however, few calls from Quebec for immediate and extensive support of the United Nations.

Pressures to Send Ground Forces

On 12 July when the Acting Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations informed the Secretary-General that the three Canadian destroyers were being placed at the disposal of the United Nations, the announcement added fuel to editorial fire. Most papers now began to insist that this was not enough.

A major decision cannot long be postponed on Korea. Canadian co-operation with American troops . . . offers the best prospect of effective Canadian help. (*The Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 28 July 1950.)

Mr. St. Laurent's announcement of the dispatch of an R.C.A.F. transport squadron was received by the press in much the same way. Those who had been against intervention were still against it, those who favoured intervention demanded still more:

If the Federal Government heeds the advice of its best friends, it will show a greater readiness to admit its errors of attitude . . . (*Beacon Herald*, Stratford, 21 July.)

Canada is no less loyal than her associates in the British Commonwealth to the United Nations and the cause of world peace and security . . . (*Toronto Star*, 27 July.)

As July wore on and the demand for a recall of Parliament increased in both the Conservative and Liberal press, a second issue gained prominence – the state of Canadian defence preparations. By the end of the month the cry for the dispatch of ground troops to Korea increased:

Ottawa reports say the Canadian Government is considering the recruitment of a special volunteer contingent for active service in Korea. It will be gratifying if the Cabinet at last acknowledges this country's duty to send ground forces; but the method proposed is open to the strongest objections . . .

The more it is examined, the more outrageous and absurd the Government scheme appears . . . The Cabinet should at once drop its wretched plan and devise another which will both recognize Canada's obligation and give maximum support to UN. (*Globe and Mail*, 31 July.)

On 27 July Mr. Pearson advised the Cabinet that the U.S. Government, through its Embassy, had sent a note asking for a Canadian brigade group for a U.N. force,²⁸ and although a decision on this matter was deferred, an announcement that the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand had offered Army Units to the United Nations, prompted the Cabinet to review the Canadian position.²⁹ Meanwhile the United Kingdom began discreet enquiries. In a wire from London on 28 July, the Chairman



P. Plastow

IN TRAINING AT CURRIE BARRACKS

The Honourable Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence, accompanied by Lieutenant-General C. Foulkes, addresses troops of the 2nd Bn. P.P.C.L.I. 12 September 1950.



W. H. Olson

WATCH YOUR STEP

Canadian soldiers learning the difficulties of steep hills and wet paddy fields, February 1951.



W.H. Olson

NUMBER TWO ON THE BREN

Canadian Joint Staff wrote that the War Office had asked for some idea of the size of the expected Canadian contribution. On the same day the U.K. Liaison Officer in Ottawa approached the V.C.G.S. with what seemed to be the same sort of exploratory conversation.³⁰ In fact, those in authority were finding it difficult to discover just what the United Nations wanted Canada to do. The need for speed was obvious, but this very need would of necessity limit the size of any force Canada might send, since it would have to come from the under-strength Mobile Striking Force. The C.G.S. recorded that after further discussions with the Minister and the Deputy Minister he was left with the distinct impression that any Canadian contribution would be restricted to a specially organized battalion group.³¹ While undertaking to provide such a unit from the Active Force, he continued to recommend the recruitment of a special force, saying he was sure that there were enough people in Canada of the "soldier of fortune" type to organize at least one brigade. There would have to be a guarantee of service overseas, and a short engagement, say eighteen months, since the Army would not wish to retain this type of soldier on a long term basis.³² The staff at Army Headquarters was directed to consider the implications of raising such a force.³³

As these discussions progressed, the storm of editorial protest continued against the Government's apparent inactivity. Since 19 July there had been no further announcements and eighteen days were to pass before the Prime Minister made a further statement.

The criticism over the Government's failure to extend the June session was now renewed, but the Winnipeg Tribune in an editorial on 18 July, may have put its finger on the reason:

It may be thought unfortunate that Parliament was prorogued just as the Korean struggle was gaining momentum, but meanwhile M.Ps. and senators alike have had the advantage of returning to their homes and sampling public opinion.

The Special Force is Authorized

Canadian Governments have always had a talent for devising cumbersome euphemisms as titles for their overseas armies. In the First World War it was the Canadian Expeditionary Force, in the Second the Canadian Active Service Force. Now, on 7 August, the Prime Minister acted and announced the decision to recruit the Canadian Army Special Force. It was to be "specially trained and equipped to be available for use in carrying out Canada's obligations under the United Nations charter or the North Atlantic pact".³⁴ He went on to say that fit young men were wanted, preferably veterans. In this address of 7 August, to which we have referred before, the Prime Minister explained at some length why Canadian defence planning had not provided for an expeditionary force in being. Later, the Secretary of State for External Affairs gave a further statement on the subject.

Canadian defence policy, therefore, until June of this year, had been based on the concept of providing a shall highly-skilled regular army, charged with responsibility of doing its immediate share of North American defence, especially in the Arctic, and designed to be capable of rapid expansion in the event of a general war which might require Canada to be defended outside of Canada. The furnishing to the United Nations on short notice of expeditionary forces capable of quick deployment in distant areas ... had not ... entered into our planning³⁵

The reaction to the Government statement was favourable abroad. Lieutenant-General A. M. Gruenther, then Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans in the U.S. Army, undoubtedly reflected official Washington opinion when he wrote to the C.G.S.:

I am delighted that your government has made the decision to answer the U.N. appeal for ground troops in Korea. As you will know, that subject is becoming a sensitive one in this country, and it might well have caused a discordant note in our present harmonious relations.³⁶

At home, some papers felt it was a move in the right direction but that it was too little and too late. Others found the method of recruitment objectionable:

This special force is an instalment, a very good and useful beginner, but an instalment only ... Now that we have turned the corner, we should not make the mistake of still doing things on too small and too slow a scale. Are six months needed? Are 4000 men enough? (*Montreal Star*, 8 August 1950.)

Recruitment of a special Canadian Brigade for the United Nations meets the approval of the public. Most people in this country have thought for some time that Canada had done too much talking about UN police action without a corresponding effort to back the oratory. An increasing number of our friends in other countries were beginning to think the same way (*Vancouver Sun*, 8 August.)

Although the Orders-in-Council authorizing the force are dated 7 August, the minutes of C.G.S. conferences indicate that planning was still incomplete on 31 July. What is more important, from the point of view of this narrative, is that decisions about details, on which a recruiting campaign could be based, were not reached until 7 August, in a meeting between the Minister, the Adjutant General, (Major-General W. H. S. Macklin) and the Judge Advocate General, (Brigadier W. J. Lawson). These decisions, approved by the Cabinet on the same day, gave the Army detailed direction for the first time.³⁷

There were legal problems involved in recruiting a Special Force for Korea. There would have to be a "precautionary" period between the time when the force was recruited and the time when it was officially committed. The term "precautionary period" was coined by the Judge Advocate General to cover the period between the actual raising of the force and its being placed on active service and committed to the United Nations, for this could not be done until Parliament was called. Since Parliament was not in session, the method to be used depended entirely on plans for its recall. The two alternatives were outlined by the C.G.S. in a memorandum to

the Minister:

... a state of emergency cannot be deemed to exist for purposes of raising a contingent without Parliament being summoned within ten days ... Therefore, unless Parliament is to be summoned the Canadian Contingent cannot be placed on Active Service, nor can it be constituted as an Active Service Contingent or Force ...

The alternative suggestion is to constitute this contingent as additional units of the Reserve Force. In this case a Reserve Force attestation form could be used and, if and when the emergency is deemed to exist, the contingent would be liable to serve for the duration plus one year. It would be placed on Active Service . . . and Parliament would have to be summoned.³⁸

There were numerous differences in the regulations governing personnel “on active service” as against those simply “on service”. On active service, discipline was stricter, punishments were heavier, transfers between corps ceased to be voluntary and terms of service were subject to the length of the “emergency”. A new National Defence Act had been passed by Parliament on 7 June, but the sections under which such a force could be raised had not yet been proclaimed.³⁹ They could, however, be proclaimed at any time. If the required sections were not proclaimed the force would have to be raised under either the Naval Service Act, the Militia Act or the R.C.A.F. Act. However, the J.A.G. thought it preferable to use the new Act rather than the old legislation. He felt that the Government would probably prefer the new Act and since it was more in line with service requirements, he thought it the best choice. He also felt that it would be desirable to avoid the confusion that might result in a change during an emergency.

The next step would be for the Minister, under section 18 of the Act (Units and other Elements), to name the new units which would absorb the newly recruited soldiers. The V.C.G.S., Major-General H. D. Graham, felt that careful consideration should be given to the names; he personally favoured numbers. This would avoid complications which might arise from having two units with the same name, one being active force and another reserve or special force. Some of the difficulties he foresaw were the handling of reinforcements, the disposition of regimental property and the posting of officers.⁴⁰

On 4 August the J.A.G. prepared a second memorandum to the C.G.S.:

I now understand that there are considered to be practical objections to recruiting personnel into the Reserve Force ... and that, therefore, consideration is being given to increasing the Active Force to the extent necessary to carry out the army's role in fulfilling Canada's international obligations⁴¹

The final decision was to raise the Canadian Army Special Force as part of the Canadian Army Active Force, i.e., the regular army.⁴² Once this decision was taken, the field units became new units of existing Active Force regiments, and the idea of numbering them was dropped. The soldiers enrolled in the Special Force were members of the Active Force subject to certain limitations. Men were enrolled for 18 months or for a further

period if “required in consequence of any action undertaken by Canada pursuant to an international agreement or where the term of service expires during an emergency or within one year of the expiration thereof.” Officers were appointed with a clear understanding that they would serve for the same period.⁴³ Certain benefits accrued to members of the Special Force while at the same time they were subject to certain limitations. Enlistment standards were lowered and the age restriction for the receipt of marriage allowance (25 for officers and 23 for other ranks) was removed. Special Force soldiers were also entitled to receive separated family allowance on the same basis as the Active Force. They were not, however, allowed to move dependents at government expense nor were married quarters or education facilities provided.⁴⁴

A few problems arose in connection with pay and allowances. There was no dependents’ allowance for the Active Force or the Special Force; the only way payment could be ensured to dependents was by assignment of the soldier’s pay. In a memorandum to the Minister on 1 August the C.G.S. had commented on the subject:

We feel that some dependents’ allowance may be essential for an Active Service Force in addition to present pay and allowances. It is manifest that numerous Active Force people supplement their income by outside work. Furthermore, the breadwinner cuts costs by working at home. It is likely that many distress cases will arise if the breadwinner goes off to Korea without an adequate guarantee of support for his dependents. Lots of men would enlist and simply dodge their responsibilities at home. They did so in 1914 and 1939.⁴⁵

It was decided that, pending concurrence of the Minister, pension deductions should not be made from soldiers of the Special Force.⁴⁶ An order was drafted making it compulsory for members of the Special Force to make assignments to their dependents, which left the soldier somewhat less than half his pay; the man with children not occupying married quarters retained for his own use less than \$75 per month. But this compares favourably with the \$22 the same man would have retained five years earlier in the Second World War.

Thus, in uncertainty, haste and improvisation was the Special Force born, the Cinderella of the Active Force family. As will become apparent, however, those who regarded the Force as a temporary expedient required to discharge a transitory obligation, misjudged the nature and power of the influences at work on Canada. A continuing and increasing requirement for overseas forces, to which no end could be foreseen, forced important changes in the role of the Regular Army, and the status of the Special Force. In slightly less than two years, units of the Special Force would be regarded as having the same permanent position as the Active Force and would replace the latter as parachute battalions at their home stations in Canada. At the same time the original Active Force units, designated as elements of the Special Force, would take over positions in Korea.

CHAPTER III

GROWING PAINS

Raising and Organizing the Force

THE AUTHORITY for the establishment of the Canadian Army Special Force was contained in an Order in Council dated 7 August 1950.* The new units consisted originally of three infantry battalions, one regiment of artillery, a field ambulance, an infantry workshop, a transport company, and two light aid (field repair) detachments.¹ Its strength was to be approximately 4,960 all ranks, plus a reinforcement group of 2,105.² “The mobilization plan. . . [was] based on recruiting this force from veterans in civilian life, the Reserve Force, the Supplementary Reserve, and from the general public”.³ Active Force personnel would only be used where they were required to round out the Special Force.⁴

It was not until Saturday, 5 August that the Adjutant General was permitted to send out mobilization instructions, enlistment policies and documentation drills.⁵ The Prime Minister’s announcement was made over the radio on the evening of Monday, 7 August. In it he said that recruiting would start in two days. In many parts of Canada this first Monday in August was a civic holiday, a factor that served to complicate the recruiting problem. Recruiting instructions were to be opened on receipt of the code word “Lotus”. “Lotus” was sent out on Monday, together with the copy of the speech the Prime Minister intended to make that evening. In many cases, due to the lack of mail delivery on the holiday, instructions, code word and speech arrived together.⁶ One of the more spectacular examples of delayed transmission of information concerned the French translation of the supplementary declaration on attestation, without which applicants could not be legally enlisted; it was not sent out until 8:10 p.m., 12 August. †⁷

All commands of the Army found the work of enlistment complicated by this lack of warning, but the most populous of them, Central Command, can best be used to illustrate the country-wide confusion.

The Situation in Central Command

On the morning of 8 August, in the midst of a heat wave, the Officer Commanding No. 6 Personnel Depot in Toronto, arrived at work to find

*PC 3860/50.

†This may have been the cause of a situation discovered late in September when nearly 1400 men in Valcartier Camp were found who had not been formally enlisted.

several hundred men gathered outside his offices. His home was some distance from Toronto, he had not listened to his radio the night before, nor had he seen a morning paper. Since the normal flow of recruits through his small organization averaged five or six per day, his consternation can be imagined. The crowd on his doorstep were men who had not waited for Wednesday to enquire about enlisting.⁸ In his office he was handed the Special Force mobilization instructions which had been delivered at 8:45 a.m. Without waiting for Wednesday, he began enlistments at once. Command Headquarters sent for clerks from Camp Borden, borrowed typists from the civil service, and called for doctors, personnel officers, and clerks from the Reserve Force. In the midst of these hurried preparations, the Depot's difficulties were increased by the arrival of important amendments and additions to the instructions received in the "Lotus" envelope.⁹

That night the *Toronto Daily Star* carried pictures and a story which gave the impression that hundreds of men had actually been enlisted; but the daily return which the Depot had been instructed to send each night to Ottawa, showed only a handful attested on Tuesday, and few more on Wednesday. This apparent discrepancy was caused by the length of time taken to process applicants. Personnel Selection Officers needed nearly an hour to check each man for former service, civil convictions, background, aptitudes and character. Some twenty forms had to be completed, together with X-ray and medical examinations. The process took several days. The returns sent to Ottawa for the 8th and 9th had only covered those men who had applied before the announcement of the mobilization.

On 10 August, the Minister of National Defence decided to visit Toronto to see for himself how the recruiting campaign was going. Vexed by the apparent conflict between press and official versions, Mr. Claxton was worried about a possible public reaction to a "business as usual" approach to the mobilization.¹⁰ Leaving Ottawa in an R.C.A.F. CF 100 he put down at Malton airport, where he was met and driven to No. 6 Personnel Depot. His reaction to what he found can best be described in his own words. In a memorandum addressed to the C.G.S. and A.G. on his return he wrote:

... Altogether, I must have seen four or five hundred [recruits]. They are young, generally between 18 and 25, exceptionally fit, (out of 253 Medically examined only 3 were rejected), generally with good background and fair intelligence. About 50% were veterans.

... In the two days they had fully processed something like 50 per day, whereas up to Wednesday night they had 657 applicants ... this depot will be dropping steadily behind.¹¹

The Minister went on to suggest that the procedure was too elaborate. Selection interviews should be reduced to five or ten minutes. Documentation could well be done when the man arrived at his unit. He wanted the men attested and posted, in one day. He wanted the depots to remain open seven days a week.

The Enlistment is Speeded Up

The day after the Minister returned from Toronto, the Adjutant General in a flurry of “operational immediate” wires, proceeded to put the Minister’s instructions into effect.¹² At No. 6 Personnel Depot the lines of waiting applicants began to move more swiftly, the trains were filled with recruits and dispatched to camps across the province, and the daily wire to Ottawa reflected the increased pace.

The peak of the flood passed rather quickly. On 23 August, recruiting by quotas was begun,¹³ and two days later the volume had fallen off to a point where depots were permitted to remain closed on Sundays.¹⁴ The last entry in the August Historical Record from “A” Branch at Central Command reads:

31 August, – Recruiting at 6 Personnel Depot continued, but on a greatly reduced scale with only eleven personnel being enlisted today. 6 Personnel Depot had since 8 Aug enlisted 2075 personnel in the CA (SF).¹⁵

The situation in the other four commands was very similar to that in Central Command, but the problems encountered were on a much smaller scale. No. 6 Personnel Depot had recruited approximately 25 percent of the Special Force¹⁶. A tabulation of applications received at the 12 Depots across Canada during the first day and a half of recruiting shows Montreal running a close second to Toronto, while Vancouver, Calgary, London and Halifax were having about equal results, but with less volume than the larger centres.¹⁷

No. 11 Personnel Depot in Vancouver and No. 3 Personnel Depot in Quebec City both had a transportation problem. In Vancouver most recruits applied at the downtown office where a few basic questions were asked before they were transported in the unit’s single station wagon to the depot. This vehicle ran continually but could never quite keep up with the flow of recruits at peak periods.¹⁸ In Quebec City the depot could only accommodate 20 men. “An army bus left Hut 41 Cove Fields every night at 2100 hrs to Valcartier where sleeping [accommodation] was available, and they were picked up the next morning at 0700 hrs to bring them down to Quebec for breakfast”. Only 24 men could be fed at once, forcing the kitchen to operate 13 hours a day.¹⁹

By the end of August enlistment headaches were over, but the results of the haste were beginning to be felt. Many undesirables had slipped into the Army and these became an administrative problem for months to come. As the Army began to look more carefully at the thousands of new recruits, individual problems came to light. There is an order in existence, permitting compassionate leave to “clean up business and personal affairs”.²⁰ Little of this, of course, is documented; the situation was one that generated legend. But among the anomalies of this unique method of recruiting, the enlistment of a man with an artificial leg and one who was 72 years old

stand out as highlights.²¹ There is at least one recorded case of a civilian who on impulse got on board a troop train in Ottawa with a newly enlisted friend and was found weeks later in Calgary, drilling with the P.P.C.L.I.²²

Later, in the autumn of 1950, the A.G. enlisted the aid of the Defence Research Board to uncover lessons learned during the mobilization. In this report, which confirmed the opinion of the A.G., the scientists summarized their findings in the following words:

. . . the precipitate manner in which this special mobilization was initiated, the mandate that all who applied should be forthwith processed, the speedy clearing of applicants which was demanded . . . were regrettable features to be avoided in any similar programme hereafter. Many men were enlisted who should not have been, others were given insufficient opportunity to put business and domestic affairs ' in order, contractual misunderstandings, mistakes and omissions occurred . . . out of which a later harvest of administrative and training grief might be expected.²³

Once the decision had been taken to recruit from civilian sources, it was vital to do so quickly, while the public was in the mood to support such an effort. But had the Prime Minister's speech been delayed a few days, in order to give the Army time to set up adequate administrative machinery to cope with the rush of recruits, many subsequent troubles would have been avoided.

It would appear that the Government did not grasp the fact that no Army in time of peace can be fully prepared for every conceivable role, nor could any government afford this; the cost would be prohibitive. Nevertheless it seems clear that the Army would have been in a much better position to meet this unexpected challenge if it had been up to strength. In 1950 it was dangerously near to impotence. The situation was not however peculiarly Canadian. Most countries had been caught off guard by the Korean war, their forces inadequate, their peoples unprepared for action.

On 18 August the C.G.S. reported to the Cabinet that the Special Force was recruited to strength. He recommended that enlistment continue until sufficient reinforcements for twelve months had been obtained. The Cabinet accepted his recommendation and authorized the recruiting of 9,979 all ranks.²⁴ Orders were issued providing for the concentration of surplus men in Petawawa, where they were to be organized into special companies in a reinforcement group.²⁵ In calculating the number of recruits needed to sustain the force, an arbitrary figure was adopted. "Wastage rates" for each corps, based on experience in the Second World War were used as a guide. These "wastage rates" were graded into "Intense", "Normal" and "Quiet" activity.²⁶ The figures soon ceased to have any relevance for the C.A.S.F. There were abnormally high discharges during the period of training in Canada and the U.S.A. and unexpectedly low casualties and sickness when the brigade saw action in Korea. Thus, while there was a constant scramble for recruits during the training period, there was never any lack of reinforcements once the brigade took the field, except for a

short period when French-speaking enlistments dropped off.

The decision to recruit a reinforcement pool while the applicants were still eager, was to call for special measures before the end of 1950. The V.C.G.S. pointed out to the C.G.S. in a memorandum on 17 August that if the Army went ahead and recruited to 10,000, it would have these reinforcements on its hand all winter, whereas the wastage rates indicated a desirable monthly intake of only about 325.²⁷ The C.G.S., however, was deeply conscious of the experience of 1944-45 and was not prepared to commit the brigade to battle over 3,000 miles away without a certainty of reinforcement.²⁸ In the end the decision to enlist the extra men turned out to be wise, for Canada's military commitments were on the increase, and the additional manpower, which was ultimately formed into battalions, proved vital for the implementation of those commitments.

On 22 August, more trouble came to plague the planners. The non-operating employees of Canada's two great railways, the Canadian National and the Canadian Pacific, went on strike. To appreciate fully the result of this incident on the mobilization, it is necessary to describe in outline the next step that was planned - the training, of the Force. In the interests of speed the General Staff had decided that the men, of the Special Force would receive basic training from the Active. Force, while the newly enlisted officers of the Special Force received refresher training. The railway strike interrupted the process of sending recruits to Active Force Army camps across Canada.

The Adjutant General moved swiftly to avert the dislocation that threatened. Commands and Areas were made responsible for the administration of soldiers stranded within their boundaries, and orders were issued that all men enlisted in Eastern Canada were to be sent to "Camp Petawawa for the duration of the strike by bus or truck where practicable, otherwise by air."²⁹ Under the combined effects of the rail strike and; the plan for the disposition of reinforcements, the concentration in Petawawa soon taxed that camp's capacity. In the words of a staff officer who served on the Camp Headquarters at the time, "where all had been orderly chaos before, it now became the very essence of military disorder".³⁰

There are no precise data on which to base a detailed description: Of the situation which existed when the first rush of recruiting had passed, but in general the following picture emerged. Approximately 8,000 men had enlisted.³¹ These recruits were at depots, in transit, or gathered - because of the strike - in what amounted to collecting points in Chilliwack, Calgary, Shilo, Borden, Petawawa, Barriefield and Valcartier. The largest group was in Petawawa. Other recruits had been lost altogether, since they had been posted from the overworked personnel depots to units which lacked the normal administrative staff.³² Documentation was incomplete, and in many cases, as has been seen, medical examinations had been hasty and men of low category had been enlisted.³³

One result of the accelerated recruiting campaign was a heavy turnover in soldiers. The men who should never have been enlisted had to be discharged, while others came to the same conclusion of their own accord and deserted. As of 31 March, 1951, the last month of recruiting into the Special Force, 10,208 men had been enlisted, 2,230 had been discharged or were awaiting discharge, and 1,521 cases of desertion had been handled. Of that figure 1,020 had been apprehended, while 501 were still at large. As of 28 March, there were 141 soldiers, both Special and Active Force, under sentence in Military Detention Barracks, compared with a total of 25 for the Navy and Air Force combined.³⁴ The figure for discharges and unapprehended deserters, which is more than 25 percent of the total numbers enlisted, compares with 7 percent for the first seven months of the First World War and 12 percent for the same period in the Second World War.³⁵

If the need for Parliamentary sanction for the Special Force made the recall of Parliament necessary, the railway strike made it vital. On 29 August it reassembled and after a Speech from the Throne that was unprecedented in its brevity, proceeded with great dispatch to pass the Maintenance of Railway Operation Act, ordering the strikers back to work and arranging for arbitration. On 9 September, after debating the financial implications for five days, the Canadian Forces Act was passed and received Royal Assent. This gave the Cabinet the authority it needed to pass the Order in Council placing 15,000 of the regular forces on active service.³⁶

The reader should not assume from this unhappy account that the Special Force recruiting campaign had been a total failure. Many thousands of fit and keen young men had been recruited, who were to demonstrate their worth in battle long before their 18 month enlistment expired. Moreover the lessons of August 1950 were not lost on the Department of National Defence, and when, in 1951, it became necessary to recruit a similar force for service with NATO, the staffs were given adequate warning, and the mobilization plan was thought out in advance.

Summing up the activities of August in a memorandum to the Minister, the Adjutant General described the newly recruited force. The call for veterans had not been in vain. Some 45 percent of the volunteers had seen service of some sort during the Second World War and of this percentage, 20 percent were former N.C.O.s. As for specialists, 20 percent of the new men had trades useful in the Army. In spite of the administrative burden caused by haste, the Special Force was off to a good start with the bulk of its rank and file.³⁷

Officers for the Special Force

On 8 August, Brigadier J. M. Rockingham "accepted command of the Canadian Infantry Brigade for employment under the United Nations".³⁸ During most of the campaign in North-West Europe Brigadier Rockingham

had commanded the 9th Canadian Infantry Brigade, after which he was appointed a brigade commander in the division organized for Canadian participation in the war against Japan. At the end of the Pacific war he had returned to civilian life as an executive of a West Coast utilities firm. The decision to find a commander outside the ranks of the Regular Army seems to have been taken because the Minister wanted a leader who would be a veteran from civilian life, on the same footing as the men to whom the Government was appealing to return to the Colours.³⁹ In addition, Brigadier Rockingham had been an outstanding brigade commander in North-West Europe and in recommending him the C.G.S. felt that he possessed the ability to get along well with U.S. military authorities.⁴⁰

Brigadier Rockingham was conducting a very delicate negotiation with union representatives, when at 6:00 p.m. on 7 August, the C.G.S. phoned his office. He told the C.G.S. that he would give him an answer in 24 hours; he felt he had to consult his family and his company president. In the event more than 24 hours elapsed before the two men spoke again since Brigadier Rockingham's attempts to reach the C.G.S. were unsuccessful; the latter was attending a series of meetings. But by the evening of 8 August, General Foulkes was able to advise the Minister that the Brigadier had accepted the command.

The Commander of the Special Force lost no time getting to work. Canadian Army Orders show him as appointed to command the 25th Infantry Brigade on 9 August 1950.⁴¹ On 10 August he arrived in Ottawa and began at once the task of selecting officers from the applications that had been pouring in since the Prime Minister's announcement. On Friday 11 August he attended a meeting of the Command and Staff Selection Committee and began choosing commanding officers and staff.⁴² By Monday the 14th the recommendations had been approved by the Minister.⁴³ Two of the three Commanding Officers of infantry battalions were volunteers, but the C.Os. of the third infantry battalion, the artillery regiment and the field ambulance were regulars, as were the two senior staff officers.⁴⁴ It is evident from the selections that war-time experience was, in each case, the over-riding consideration. This policy made good sense, for if the brigade was to be ready to fight in the shortest possible time, the supervisory positions had to be filled by officers with a clear understanding of the problem. Without exception, therefore, each Commanding Officer selected had served with distinction in war as a C.O., and each staff officer had filled, during war, the appointment for which he was now selected.

In general, the method for selecting the other officers followed the plan laid down by the C.G.S.; if a volunteer proved suitable, he was appointed forthwith. If there was no suitable volunteer for a particular vacancy, the Brigadier was given a suggested list of regular officers and permitted to select the man he wanted.

The original plan was to centralize the selection of officers at Army

Headquarters, although authority to appoint limited quotas of lieutenants was delegated at first to the General Officers of Commands.⁴⁵ But this authority was subsequently withdrawn,⁴⁶ for as the selections continued, it became apparent from a study of the age and experience of the ex-officer volunteers that there would not be enough of them suitable for service.⁴⁷ It became necessary to draw heavily on the Active Force for command, staff and technical positions, as the following table shows:⁴⁸

<i>Category</i>	<i>Numbers</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Active Force</i>	<i>Volunteers for Special Force</i>	
Officers of Brigade headquarters..... (Including Increments)	21	7	28
Commanding Officers of Units.....	22	10	32
Officers of the Technical Corps			
R.C.E.....	7	5	12
R.C. Sigs.....	4	1	5
R.C.A.M.C.....	7	7	14
R.C.O.C.....	All officers from the Active Force.		
R.C.E.M.E.....	14	3	17
R.C.D.C.....	2	1	3

In the three infantry battalions, on the other hand, there was a high proportion of Special Force officers. Out of a total of 113 officers on strength, 86 were in this category.⁴⁹

The Order of Battle and the Supply Problem

In the beginning, the term Special Force was synonymous with the 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade. But as the Force evolved, and additional support and service units were created, Special Force came to mean all those units, of whatever kind, devoted to the operation in Korea. Thus, in studying the order of battle, a distinction must be made between the Brigade and the rest. As we have seen, a normal infantry brigade with a field regiment of artillery was first envisaged, with only an ambulance unit, a workshop and a motor transport company to support it. The infantry battalions were to be designated as second battalions of Canada's three Active Force infantry regiments. Similarly, the artillery regiment was to be called the 2nd Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Horse Artillery. This nomenclature was deliberately adopted, as were so many other Special Force policies, in the interests of speed. By associating the newly formed units with famous regular regiments, the C.G.S. hoped to instill regimental esprit by osmosis, rather than by the long and often painful method of creating team spirit in new units.

In the beginning, the order of battle was influenced by the short-term nature of the task. Thus many support and service units, accepted as normal during the Second World War, were not created. The elaborate welfare organization provided in the earlier war was not used; instead, a junior officer was added to the Quartermaster's staff in each battalion-sized unit. This decision had repercussions later. (See p. 139). There was felt to be no need for a dental unit for men enlisted for only 18 months, and, since the hope for a commonwealth division was strong, a provost company, a base ordnance unit, a public relations section, and similar line of communication organizations, were not included. Gradually, however, as each branch and corps of the Army had opportunity to argue its case, ancillary troops were added. By November, of the 7,500 officers and men in units of the C.A.S.F., about 1,550 were on the strength of administrative units. This, however, was still a very low proportion when compared with the administrative "load" of the Second World War. Much the same expansion occurred later, in November, when it was decided that only one battalion would go to Korea. On 13 November the administrative "tail", set at five officers and ten N.C.Os., was made up of medical, legal and pay specialists. On 20 November two public relations officers were added and the build-up began. By 15 December, the administrative increment to the battalion totalled 14 officers and 65 other ranks.⁵⁰

This growth of administrative units was resisted, but the problems faced by Canada in putting a comparatively small force into a distant Pacific theatre in combination with the United States and Britain were difficult to solve economically. Canadians had no nearby bases of their own like Hong Kong or Japan; their equipment was a mixture of British, Canadian and American; their ration scale was somewhat different and their method of re-supply and reinforcement was complicated by geography. At every point along the way from Vancouver to Korea there had to be small Canadian liaison establishments, from movement control teams to ammunition examiners, to keep the Canadian "pipe-line" open and functioning.

Accompanying the C.A.S.F. would be 60 days' maintenance with each unit, and a further 120 days' maintenance with the Brigade Ordnance Company. Stocks sufficient for 360 days' maintenance would be built up in Japan. Subject to the later direction of the theatre commander, one-third of this stock would be moved forward to an advanced base at Pusan. The 360 days' maintenance figure was based on four months "contact" and eight months "quiet" at British estimated rates. For example, 92,000 rounds of 25-pounder ammunition would be required for four months "contact", but only 8,600 rounds for eight months "quiet".⁵¹ The actual issue of the stores, as they became available in Ordnance Depots across Canada, was known as Exercise "Domino".

Recruits were issued with battle dress and bush clothing for training, but no suitable operational clothing was available because of the intention

to standardize with the British and United States Armies, which were still in the process of developing combat uniforms. The existing wool battle dress had been designed for use only in Western Europe and there was general agreement that the greatcoat was not a suitable garment for fighting. In consequence, *ad hoc* substitutions were sought for the beret, greatcoat, boots, puttees, socks, mitts, ground sheet, blankets, underwear, undervest, steel helmet, entrenching tool and tent.⁵² Parkas and windproof trousers, sleeping bags, stringed vests, ponchos and peaked caps were among the new items eventually provided.

The initial supply problems posed by the organization of the Canadian Army Special Force stemmed mainly from the situation created by the Second World War. Following its conclusion, sufficient serviceable munitions were taken over from the Department of Munitions and Supply to stock Ordnance Depots with the estimated needs of an Active Force consisting of an infantry brigade group, coast defence, training and administrative units, a Reserve Force undergoing part-time training, and the initial mobilization requirements for a wartime corps of two infantry divisions and two armoured brigades, with the proper proportion of ancillary troops. The remainder was sold at bargain prices to interested, friendly nations and to members of the general public. Post-war planning initially envisaged a "ten-year safe period", during which the likelihood of a major war would be remote, and a "two-year period of warning" that such was likely to occur. Subsequent appreciations were related to the "situation that may be expected to exist in the period 1955-60" when the U.S.S.R. and its satellites might be expected to have recovered from the ravages of the Second World War. Although that global conflict had indicated the need for a wide variety of weapons and equipment, there seemed to be no great urgency to develop new munitions. Canada emphasized Arctic research and otherwise was content to accept what Great Britain and the United States might develop.

During April 1948 the Canadian Government decided that, in order to maintain the nucleus of an armament industry in Canada, sales of equipment on hand should be permitted to friendly governments.⁵³ On 29 November of the same year, Lieutenant-General Foulkes advised the Minister of National Defence that he felt it was "much more important to have armament factories in production than it is to have large stocks of weapons on our shelves".⁵⁴ During an interdepartmental meeting of senior officials on 26 January 1950, the Deputy Minister of National Defence and the Chief of the General Staff argued as follows:

The Army was vitally interested in keeping a healthy armaments industry to enable expansion of the industry whenever this was necessary, and to this end was prepared to take chances in exporting present equipment. The Army had now no surplus equipment, but did have stocks which would be obsolete in five or six years. These could be sold on the understanding that the proceeds would be used for the purchase of new army supplies - this was the only way the Army could afford to obtain essential

new equipment. The primary policy in exporting should be to aid North Atlantic Treaty countries.⁵⁵

At the NATO Council meeting at New York in the following September the Canadian representative offered to make available the armament and ancillary equipment, including ammunition, for two divisions and corps troops, providing that satisfactory replacement was possible from current production. The Chief of the General Staff emphasized at his weekly conference on 25 September that this must inevitably mean the complete replacement of existing holdings with American-type munitions.⁵⁶

But in the meantime, Lieutenant-General Foulkes decided that outfitting the mobilizing Canadian Army Special Force with U.S.-type equipment would involve major changes in the minor tactical doctrine of the Force, thereby nullifying much of the value of the experience of re-enlisted veterans and necessitating a considerably longer training period for the units of the brigade. Therefore, on 16 August he announced at his weekly conference that the Special Force should be equipped and maintained with Canadian-type equipment.⁵⁷

The Quartermaster General, Major-General N. E. Rodger, had summarized the Canadian position. Preliminary study suggested that the only deficiencies in technical stores (apart from various types of wireless equipment and the rocket launchers to be procured from the United States) were likely to be one water purification trailer (on order) and folding bicycles (for which the ordinary model could be substituted if this item of equipment was still felt to be useful). Stocks of ammunition were generally satisfactory, except for 3.5-in. anti-tank rockets, .5-in. armour piercing ammunition, smoke grenades, anti-tank and anti-personnel mines, and other engineer explosive stores which would have to be obtained from American sources in the theatre.

Except that there was no operational outer garment for cold weather, clothing and personal equipment seemed to be available. There were sufficient Canadian vehicles for initial issue and replacement, subject to certain improvisations or issues in lieu, for the first year of the requirement; but it would be impossible to provide the required stock of spare parts for more than three to six months. There was a world-wide shortage of such parts and it would be both difficult and expensive to re-open production. Furthermore, earmarking existing stocks of spare parts for use by the C.A.S.F. would seriously prejudice the use of the remaining vehicles in Canada for training during the initial stages of any general mobilization. The Quartermaster General pointed out, therefore, that U.S. Army vehicles would have to be provided from the outset, or after Canadian stocks were depleted. He suggested that production of U.S. types should be initiated in Canada.⁵⁸

On 21 August Foulkes wrote the Chief of Staff, United States Army:

This force is being equipped with U.K. type of equipment except for vehicles

which will be either Canadian or U.S. pattern and we hope to secure your 3.5 rocket launcher before the force goes into action. I have already approached the U.K. to suggest that they should maintain us in the theatre as far as equipment and ammunition replacements are concerned. It is my hope that they will organize a division composed of the various nations armed with U.K. type of equipment as this would certainly ease our problem and make General MacArthur's problem a little easier. In any event, whether the U.K. agrees to maintain our equipment or not we will still need your assistance in the case of rations, petrol, lubricants, etcetera.⁵⁹

Three days later Major-General Rodger visited Washington to discuss requirements informally with Lieutenant-General T. B. Larkin, Assistant Chief of Staff (G-4). Detailed staff conversations followed, resulting in agreement that the United States Army would:

- (a) Provide and maintain all vehicles except certain types of which we have stocks and sufficient spare parts for field maintenance.
- (b) Provide us with certain wireless equipment, rocket launchers and rockets. Other items such as field cookers may be added later.
- (c) Maintain our Force in food, gasoline and lubricants and certain other common stores in the field.
- (d) Arrange the movement of our Forces through the medium of their transportation corps from American. Ports except that we will be required to provide sufficient ocean-going vessels for the initial cargo lift and for continuing maintenance thereafter; the vessels to be operated through American movement authorities.⁶⁰

The Canadian Army would raise Contract Demands, which the Canadian Commercial Corporation would process in the normal fashion and arrange purchase through Mutual Defence Assistance Act procedures. Government approval was given by Order in Council P.C. 4634 of 25 September. Once it was learned that General MacArthur had agreed that the Canadian brigade could move in November to Okinawa for advanced training, the Quartermaster General's Branch developed a maintenance plan for Ordnance stores and ammunition.

Before the end of August a new complication arose. Canada learned that the force would have to be formally offered to, and accepted by, the U.N. before any definite arrangements could be completed with U.S. authorities. This fact was first brought to the attention of the Canadian Army on 23 August in a letter received by Brigadier H. E. Taber, the head of the Canadian Army Staff in Washington, from General W. H. Haislip, then acting Chief of Staff, U.S. Army:

It is presumed that your government is taking appropriate steps to notify the Secretary-General United Nations of the general nature of your offer.⁶¹

The matter was left somewhat in abeyance until 19 September when the U.S. Army Attache in Ottawa informed the Vice Chief of the General Staff that arrangements to use U.S. ports and movement facilities could not be authorized until both the offer and the acceptance of it had been made.⁶² Lieutenant-General Foulkes had pointed out this situation to the Deputy Minister on the previous day and had in addition mentioned that U.S.

equipment could not be obtained until the act of “proffering” had been performed.⁶³ In his, reply the Deputy Minister stated that the Canadian position was acceptable to the U.S. on an unofficial level, but that he would start action to make the formal offer.⁶⁴

On 21 September 1950, Mr. C. M. Drury, (Deputy Minister of National Defence), Major-General Graham and Dr. R. A. MacKay of the Department of External Affairs, met in the Deputy Minister’s office and worked out a draft note for proffering the force which was wired to Mr. Pearson in New York.⁶⁵ The last obstacle to equipping the C.A.S.F. was thus surmounted.

CHAPTER IV

PREPARATIONS FOR BATTLE

Training Plans

ON 3 AUGUST, when it had become increasingly clear that the Special Force idea was gaining acceptance, the C.G.S. ordered the Director of Military Training to draw up a paper setting forth the training problems of such a mobilization. The D.M.T. was to base his paper on an infantry brigade group totaling about 5,000, with a reinforcement group of 2,105. The resulting study, which assumed that 50 percent of the officers and N.C.Os. down to corporal would be drawn from the Active Force, with the balance down to sergeant coming from the Reserve, and 90 percent of the rank and file either Reserve Force or veterans, concluded that it would take at least five months to prepare for action.¹ Although the percentages were never achieved, a battalion of the C.S.A.F. was in fact in action about five months after its initial organization, if time in transit to the theatre of operations is not counted.

The C.G.S. evidently felt that the D.M.T. programme was too slow and cast about for ways to speed it up. One way, which would not denude the Active Force of officers and N.C.Os., was to suspend all planned activities and give the Active Force the job of training the Special Force. On 8 August the C.G.S. advised the heads of his staff in Ottawa that "Training would be supervised initially by the corresponding Active Force unit, which would also make available the first requirements of training equipment".² Later, in a teleprint conversation with G.O.Cs. he emphasized this method of training³ and the plan was confirmed the same day.⁴ This teleprint conversation set the whole tone for the training of the Special Force. The C.G.S., as well as wishing to impress the Army with this feeling, knew that he could save much time by talking directly to as many commanders as possible simultaneously.

The D.M.T. planning paper had made a case for the establishment of an Infantry Training Centre at Petawawa, but this unit was never organized. Instead, for the whole course of the Korean war, infantry, armour and artillery reinforcements were trained by "home" battalions and regiments; other replacements were trained and dispatched from corps schools. This training scheme was not adopted without protest. When it appeared that reinforcements, as well as the units themselves, were to be trained in this way, Major-Generals C. Vokes and M. H. S. Penhale, commanding Central and

Western Commands respectively, protested against the programme, requesting that special establishments be set up for training reinforcements.⁵ They felt that nearly all the Active Force officers and N.C.Os. normally attached to the Reserve battalions in their commands, could be committed to this role indefinitely. These requests were turned down. Without breaking up the existing field units, there were not sufficient instructors available to form such training establishments.

Various devices were used to overcome the deficiencies but the most successful was the "calling-out" of Reserve Force soldiers. As early as 3 August Commands had been authorized to call out reservists to augment the staffs of "Personnel depots, recruiting offices and mobile recruiting teams" in order to "eliminate bottlenecks".⁶ On 24 August the A.G. extended this authority to include call-outs to "train and administer" the reinforcements for the Special Force.⁷ By November, 120 officers and 558 other ranks from the Reserve Force were employed on duties in support of the Special Force.⁸

A study of the training programmes of the major units discloses that some progressed faster than others, but by 15 August training of a sort had begun everywhere, interrupted only by the issue of clothing, weapons and equipment as stocks arrived from ordnance depots. On 22 August the 1st R.C.R., now overstrength in Special Force recruits, stopped accepting men for the 2nd Battalion and further intakes were fed into an *ad hoc* reinforcement company which became, in time, the 3rd R.C.R. The other two infantry battalions adopted a somewhat different system. The 1st Battalions of the P.P.C.L.I. and the Royal 22e R. formed themselves into schools of instruction, and recruits were passed through the various stages of training until they emerged, basically trained, into advanced training "wings".

The officers appointed to the Special Force infantry trained separately, under their Commanding Officers, on a schedule designed to keep pace with the recruit training. Many administrative difficulties were encountered in attempting to make the scheme work, not the least of which was the bewilderment of the men, who were being trained by the officers and N.C.O.s of one battalion, while owing allegiance to their superiors in another. By mid-October, however, the three Special Force infantry units had been set up as separate entities, the "parent" unit continuing to assist only as requested.⁹ This represented a considerable accomplishment. Within ten weeks of the enlistment of the first recruits, formed field units, recognizable as such, were beginning collective training on a platoon level. The armour and artillery went through a similar experience, although in these corps it was recognized from the first that the Active Force would have to post a larger proportion of its strength to its C.A.S.F. counterpart; trained technicians and military tradesmen in sufficient quantity could not be expected to return from civilian life. This is not to say that the Regular infantry battalions did not suffer from postings to the new battalions. The

1st R.C.R., for example, provided all the warrant officers and quartermaster-sergeants for the 2nd Battalion, as well as the second-in-command, the adjutant, quartermaster and 26 sergeants.

An abnormally high incidence of absence without leave plagued the Force until its departure for the Far East. On 1 November there was a total of 656 soldiers absent.¹⁰ This is a startling figure; one out of every twenty soldiers on that day was not present on parade. In commenting on this, most officers at the time blamed the hasty enlistment but it seems clear that although this contributed to the situation, the main reason was that the Regular Army was just too small to absorb 10,000 men successfully in a single month. The fact that the highest figures were in the infantry, which suffered most from the dislocation, bears this out.

In the office of the Minister, meanwhile, a pressing problem was the date by which the Force should be expected to be trained. Many discussions were held with the C.G.S. and Brigadier Rockingham, and many "yardsticks" devised by the staff with the memory of Hong Kong very clear in the minds of all. None of them seemed completely satisfactory, and in the end, Brigadier Rockingham was told that when he was ready to go to Korea, he was to say so.¹¹

Winter Training Problems

The next most urgent problem was looming up in the shape of the Canadian winter. As early as 8 August the C.G.S. was speaking of this¹² and a week later he told his conference that Japan might be a good place to finish training if some guarantee could be obtained that the Force would not be prematurely committed to action.¹³ A week later 1 November was agreed to as a target date for the move overseas.¹⁴ At this stage, however, General Douglas MacArthur was permitted his say. On 21 August the C.G.S. wrote the Chief of Staff of the United States Army to inquire whether it would be possible to have the Force complete its training in Japan.¹⁵ General Collins replied that General MacArthur questioned the political wisdom of training U.N. forces in Japan, particularly those supplied by nations which were not participating in the Occupation. He was however willing to accept the Canadian troops in Okinawa.¹⁶ General Foulkes replied that Okinawa was acceptable, as was the proposed date of movement, set at late November.¹⁷

The last word had not, however, been said. On 22 August the C.G.S. announced Cabinet approval of the establishment of a staff in Tokyo. It was given the name Canadian Military Mission, Far East, and Colonel F. J. Fleury was promoted to Brigadier and placed in charge. He arrived in Tokyo on 24 September 1950.¹⁸ On 28 September he flew to Okinawa and on his return wrote a detailed report on the island's facilities which stressed its unsuitability as a collective training area.¹⁹

Meanwhile, insofar as the United Nations were concerned, the Korean crisis had reached the end of a phase. On 1 August the Soviet representative, whose turn it was to act as President, had returned to the Security Council where he effectively blocked any further constructive action. In mid-September, however, it seemed that enough had been done to secure a victory. While the Eighth Army stabilized the perimeter of the bridgehead around Pusan, MacArthur had launched a daring amphibious assault at Inch'on (the port of Seoul) designed to sever the North Korean lines of communication. The manoeuvre was brilliantly successful. The assaulting force, the 10th Corps (Major-General E. M. Almond) had been organized in Japan and consisted of the 7th Division (the last of the four occupying Japan) and the 1st Marine Division, whose units had been brought together from all over the world. Sailing from Japan on 13 September, the main assault force landed two days later and quickly overcame all enemy resistance in the seaport area. Taking Seoul proved to be more difficult; the North Koreans fought to defend the city, but on 26. September General MacArthur was able to announce its re-capture.

Meanwhile, the Eighth Army had broken out of the Pusan perimeter and by 26 September, the two forces had linked up. The North Korean advance had been turned into a rout. With the landings at Inch'on, the U.N. Command took the initiative and was soon pursuing a disorganized North Korean army towards the 38th parallel. But there was still much to be done in the areas of reconstruction and unification, and the debate was moved to the General Assembly, where the veto did not apply. Events in Korea now seemed to require a re-examination of the necessity for additional troops. By the end of the first week of October, United Nations forces were driving the shattered enemy across the 38th parallel. In a wire on 17 October, Brigadier Fleury reported that, as a result of a meeting with MacArthur (his second, held on the occasion of the farewell interview of the head of the Canadian Liaison Mission to Japan, Dr. E. H. Norman) the Commander-in-Chief no longer appeared anxious to have the Canadian brigade group. Brigadier Fleury wrote:

General MacArthur indicated Canadian Brigade would be of no repeat no significance from view small current operation. He suggests Canada might prefer to send immediately small token force to show flag.

The message went on to say that the General seemed unmoved when Dr. Norman pointed out that Canada's brigade was largely composed of volunteers who had enlisted specifically for fighting in Korea, and concluded that there would probably not be an unfavourable reaction if the Government decided to cancel the proposed move to Korea.²⁰ While the C.G.S. was pondering this message, another wire arrived from Tokyo, announcing that the U.S. military authorities in Okinawa had began pouring concrete floors for the Canadian campsite. If proceeded with, the bill for Canada would be \$1,300,000.²¹ An immediate decision was required. Discussions

with U.S. Army officers in Washington followed and on 20 October, Brigadier H. E. Taber, the head of the Canadian Army Staff in Washington, reported to Ottawa that the C.G.S. had obtained agreement that the C.A.S.F., in whole or in part, would go direct to Korea.²² Brigadier Fleury was at once informed, and the Okinawa project was finally abandoned.

In the last week in October, while visiting Washington Lieutenant-General Foulkes telephoned the Vice Chief of the General Staff to advise that the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff had recommended to the State Department that the Canadian contribution be reduced to one battalion.²³ The remaining units of the C.A.S.F. would probably train in Fort Lewis, Washington, during the approaching winter.

This ended weeks of speculation over the destination of the Force. At various times many American Army camps had been offered, among them Camp Roberts in California and Camp Rucker, Alabama. Even Hawaii had at one stage been considered as a training area. Rumours of these projected moves filtered down through the regiments, contributing to the atmosphere of uncertainty and excitement. There was to be one more last minute delay when Canadian Army Staff Washington reported to the V.C.G.S. that the 6th U.S. Army Headquarters in San Francisco was objecting to the C.A.S.F. going to Fort Lewis on the grounds that there were plans to return an American division there from Korea the following spring.²⁴ The objection was evidently overruled, however, as a wire on 4 November confirmed Fort Lewis as the destination of the C.A.S.F.²⁵

It was now assumed that Canada's reduced contribution of one battalion would be used for occupation duties only. Brigadier Fleury had made this clear in a message to the C.G.S. which he sent off after the interview of 18 October with General MacArthur. In reporting on his initial interview, which had occurred on 4 October, he summed up his impressions. (Appendix A.) In brief, MacArthur thought that the war was over. This interesting document arrived on the C.G.S.'s desk on 16 October. There was nothing in the news from Korea to dispute it. In the period between its dispatch and receipt, American forces had crossed the 38th parallel, the capital of North Korea had fallen and mobile columns of U.S. and R.O.K. troops were heading north for the Yalu River, the boundary between North Korea and China. These developments prompted the C.G.S. to initiate the inquiries in Washington which led to the decision to reduce the Canadian contribution to a battalion. Nevertheless, as long as there was any uncertainty, the requirement for a trained force remained vital, and no let-up in training was contemplated or permitted.

The success of the U.N. operations in Korea seemed, however, to obviate the need for a Commonwealth Division. There are indications that the Canadian Government faced this possibility with composure; as early as 24 August, while the C.G.S. was emphasizing the desirability of such a formation, the Cabinet was worried about the name of it. In a message to the Ca-

nadian High Commissioner in London, the Department of External Affairs reported the Government's position:

... Operations in Korea should have the aspect of United Nations operations It is in discharge of obligations under the Charter that our troops will be serving and not in any sense as members of the Commonwealth.

The wire went on to suggest that all countries using British type equipment, including, for example, the Turkish Contingent, be grouped together and called the United Nations First Division.²⁶

In reply, the Canadian High Commissioner pointed out that the Turks would be using U.S. equipment and that the British were reluctant to abandon the Commonwealth Division idea.²⁷ The Government's preference for United Nations emphasis in the name of the new division was not shared by the British who suggested a compromise: "The First. (Commonwealth) Division, United. Nations Forces".²⁸ The matter of nomenclature was shelved when only one Canadian battalion was sent, but once the decision to send the rest of the Force was taken, the Canadian Government accepted the United Kingdom compromise. Inevitably, common usage soon eliminated the brackets in the title, which of course altered the meaning.

It is evident that the Canadian Government did not wish to fight in Korea with allies in the traditional sense; it wanted to do so as part of an international police force under United Nations Command. But as one authority has pointed out, the antagonism of the Soviet Union and Chinese Communist participation in the war weakened the United Nation's international aspect and gave the operations in Korea the appearance of "a coalition war of the traditional kind".²⁹

The events of October posed special problems for the Canadian Army. The stress on veteran enlistment, and the emphasis on an overseas destination for the Force, had produced a brigade largely composed of those "soldiers of fortune" the C.G.S. had counted on to fill the ranks of the C.A.S.F. Now it seemed as if only a fraction of the force would go to the Far East, and these only to the monotony of occupation duties. Brigadier Fleury in Tokyo was concerned and his wires describing the condition of Korea were full of foreboding. Dr. Norman, on his return to Canada, echoed these sentiments and suggested the necessity of including a Bath and Laundry unit in the battalion order of battle. "Korea" he is quoted as saying "is crawling with vermin".³⁰ The C.G.S. must have wondered about the effect this change of plan would have on morale, on discipline and especially on training. But if the Commander, 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade was worried, he did not show it. The training programme was, if anything, stepped up and as the units of the Force began to prepare for the trip to Fort Lewis, Washington, the emphasis was placed for the moment on acquiring sufficient polish and efficiency to make a good showing in the United States.

The battalion selected to serve in Korea was the 2nd Battalion of

Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry. This unit, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel J. R. Stone, was nearest to Seattle, the port of embarkation, and since it had been least affected by the railway strike it had been able to start training earlier than the other units.³¹ It would use Fort Lewis as a staging area, while the other units of the Brigade would remain in training there for the winter. It was the first time in history that a Canadian formation was to be trained in peacetime in the United States and special arrangements were required. The cost of the programme was worked out on a per man per day charge called a "capitation" rate. The rate for the training period in Fort Lewis was \$2.46 (U.S.) The Special Force units trained in Fort Lewis from 8 October 1950 until 15 May 1951 and the total payment to the U.S. Government was \$2,519,883.78.³² This arrangement worked very well and was used to calculate charges in Korea, though at much higher rates.*

The Move to Fort Lewis

At first, as we have seen, the intention was to train the Force up to unit level and then send it to Okinawa for collective training. To this end it was necessary to establish a staging camp for concentrating the force prior to loading it on troop ships for the Far East. Since American ships were to be used, Seattle was the port of embarkation and Fort Lewis the staging camp.

But, as we have seen, operations in Korea were progressing favourably and it became doubtful whether the brigade would be needed in the U.N. forces. For this reason a telegram of 26 October from the Quartermaster General stopped all shipments while the future employment of the C.A.S.F. came under further consideration.³⁴ On 4 November it was decided to move the whole brigade to Fort Lewis for collective training; only the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. would proceed to Korea.³⁵ This altered shipping plans.

Extensive arrangements had already been made for moving the C.A.S.F. to Fort Lewis. A Canadian Staging Camp Staff for Fort Lewis, with Colonel C. R. Boehm as Commandant was organized. Colonel Boehm's responsibilities were the administration of the Staging Camp Staff, general Canadian camp administration and housekeeping for C.A.S.F. units.³⁶

On 4 October the Canadian Ambassador to the U.S. made the necessary arrangements for the entry of C.A.S.F. personnel and equipment into the United States, while a Canadian staff officer, Major J. D. Cheatley, examined the Fort Lewis facilities. In part he said that:

*The cost per man for movement between Seattle and Pusan was \$172.80. The cost per ton of stores was \$26.42 and the capitation rate in Korea which covered much more in the way of supplies and equipment, was \$10.96 per man per day.³³

The Seattle area is served by the Great Northern, Northern Pacific, and Union Pacific railways. Adequate railway sidings run to all piers and installations, and switching is done by the U.S. Army Transport Corps with Army equipment. Facilities for detrain- ing troops at Fort Lewis are efficient and camp authorities state they could disembark a division in a twenty-four hour period. Return dispatch of railway equipment offers no problem as there are adequate circuits within the camp

It was suggested by U.S. officers that T.C.O.'s [Train Conducting Officers] have in their possession 20 copies of train rolls. These would be necessary for the Fort Lewis Staging Camp, HQ SEPE outport of Tacoma, Troop Movement Division SEPE, and possibly U.S. immigration authorities at border points and Seattle ... U.S. military authorities anticipate no difficulties, but suggested that action be taken with U.S. Customs and Immigration authorities to ensure that all their personnel are informed of this move. This action would eliminate any incident due to an over-zealous official at the border point

The Unit Advanced Administrative Groups from the various components of the C.A.S.F., comprising a total of 42 officers and 605 other ranks, had all arrived in Fort Lewis by 10 November. This arrangement, together with the facilities existing at Fort Lewis, enabled the Canadian staff to be admirably prepared for the task of receiving large drafts of troops from various points across Canada.³⁷ On 11 November the first train was on its way. Each unit appointed an officer as O.C. Troops for the train and Train Conducting Officers were appointed by Army Headquarters. The division of authority and responsibility between the O.C. Troops and the T.C.O. was rather vague and led to a certain degree of difficulty and misunderstanding.

It appears that lack of proper briefing was responsible for many misunderstandings - in those cases where all were frilly briefed no troubles arose. In general, the Army seems to have retained the administrative experience gained in the Second World War in moving troops, while forgetting many of the human factors that influenced the execution of movement orders. Previous to the general move to Fort Lewis a great deal of trouble had been experienced with troops on trains. However, a number of instructions issued by the Adjutant General, Major-General Macklin, delineated the policy clearly and the number of incidents dropped. The Adjutant General directed that no soldier in a drunken condition was to be allowed to board a train, that officers and N.C.Os. were to ensure that no alcohol was taken aboard trains and that continual vigilance was to be exercised to ensure that no drinking took place during the journey; officers were to prevent soldiers from entering beverage rooms or obtaining liquor by other means at long halts.³⁸

This instruction seems to have been carried out to the letter; there is little record of any disciplinary problems in T.C.O. reports of the Fort Lewis move. Indeed, in several cases railways representatives commented favourably on the behaviour of the troops. The records of "before and after" inspections of all coaches show little damage caused by soldiers.³⁹

The first train left Valcartier fifteen minutes behind schedule on 11 November, 1950, carrying 14 officers and 267 other ranks of the 2nd Royal 22e R. It arrived in Fort Lewis five days later, seven hours late. With one exception, to be noted later, the troop trains kept running smoothly for another ten days. The last of the twenty-two regularly scheduled trains arrived in Fort Lewis at 10 p.m. on 21 November, carrying 19 officers and 319 other ranks of the 2nd P.P.C.L.I.⁴⁰ Operation "Sawhorse", as the railways named it, transported a total of 286 officers and 5,773 other ranks* to Fort Lewis and cost \$436,534.11.⁴¹

This efficient, well organized move was marred by the tragedy which befell the 2nd Regiment, Royal Canadian Horse Artillery on 21 November. At 10:35 a.m. a train carrying troops of this unit met another train, headed from Vancouver to Montreal, in a head-on collision, just east of Canoe River, B.C. The engines and leading cars of both trains were derailed, but there were no passenger casualties on the civilian train. The leading cars of the military train were thrown down an embankment and demolished. Survivors pitched in at once to rescue their comrades, while Dr. P. J. E. Kimmitt of Edson, Alberta, and a civilian nurse volunteered their services. It was not until four hours later that a specially organized train carrying much needed medical supplies, two doctors and eight nurses arrived. The injured were returned to Edmonton and the uninjured to Wainwright. Recovery of bodies was made extremely difficult; an oil fire rendered many of them unidentifiable. The final toll of dead was 17, including four soldiers whose bodies were never recovered. The remains of the other thirteen were flown to the homes of their next of kin by R.C.A.F. aircraft or sent by train in the case of those who lived nearby.⁴²

The accident appears to have been due to a misunderstanding on the part of C.N.R. officials. The conductor of the east-bound passenger train understood that he would meet the troop train at Cedarside, east of where the collision occurred, while the west-bound troop train had been ordered to meet the passenger train at Gosneli which is west of the scene of the accident. The two trains met on a very sharp curve and although both were travelling at moderate speeds, neither saw the other until almost at the moment of impact. The injured soldiers were fortunate that civilian medical help arrived so soon; the troop train's medical officer had been let off at Edmonton.⁴³ The uninjured gunners, after a short rest and a chance to organize their kit, left Wainwright for Fort Lewis on 29 November.

On completion of the move, the group of units which had concentrated at Fort Lewis formed the 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade. Thereafter, the term "Canadian Army Special Force" was seldom used, even in reference to those units like base post offices and movement control staffs

*This figure does not include the members of the various advanced groups who left for Fort Lewis before 11 November.

which did not belong on the Brigade's order of battle.

Lieutenant-Colonel Stone and his Patricias (who had yet to do any serious advanced training) spent less than four days in Fort Lewis. The day after arrival the battalion paraded with the other units of the brigade on the great North Camp parade square and marched past the Minister of National Defence. Two days later, on 25 November, it left Seattle for Korea on the U.S.N.S. *Private Joe P. Martinez*. Its embarkation strength of 927 included the administrative increment mentioned earlier, which, on arrival, would be fitted into the maintenance channels of the theatre.⁴⁴

Immediately prior to the battalion's departure the Directorate of Military Training estimated that it would be ready for action by 15 March 1951.⁴⁵ As it turned out, the unit went into action a full month earlier than this estimate suffering its first battle casualties in the Korean hills on 22 February.

CHAPTER V

THE CANADIANS PREPARE FOR BATTLE

The Chinese Intervention

PROVIDED WITH a very broad authority from the American Secretary of Defence to use his own discretion about advancing into North Korea, General MacArthur had begun operations north of the 38th parallel on 7 October 1950.¹ On this date, the 1st U.S. Cavalry Division crossed the line in an advance on Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea, which it entered twelve days later.² The 10th U.S. Corps, relieved of its role around Inch'on and Seoul, put to sea once more and on 26 October commenced landing on the east coast at the port of Wonsan, which had been captured by the 3rd R.O.K. Division on 11 October 1950.³ Thus two powerful formations thrust deep into North Korea, the Eighth U.S. Army up the west coast and the 10th U.S. Corps on the east coast. Much has been made of MacArthur's failure to appoint an over-all commander for this phase of the Korean operations. In retaining tactical control in Tokyo, he confirmed in many minds the rumours of discord between Lieutenant-General W. H. Walker, Commander of the Eighth U.S. Army, and Major-General E. M. Almond, commander of the operationally independent 10th U.S. Corps.⁴ But while it is true that the arrangement was a departure from normal command practice, the ridge of high mountains separating the two formations was used to justify it from an operational standpoint.

When the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. and its administrative increment left Seattle on 25 November, the war in Korea seemed to be near its end. By the time the troopship steamed into Yokohama on 14 December the picture had completely changed: Chinese Communist forces had intervened in North Korea, completely surprising the United Nations Command. This failure to take seriously the repeated Chinese Communist threats of intervention requires explanation, for as early as 21 October the U.S. State Department was no longer inclined to dismiss them as a bluff.⁵

It is difficult to understand how anyone with a knowledge of recent Chinese history could have concluded that Mao-tse-tung's regime would fail to react to the presence of American troops on the Yalu. As Dr. Allan S. Whiting has pointed out convincingly, the Chinese Communists from the moment of achieving power had evinced a steady and vocal hostility to all things American.⁶ One can only assume that it was failure to project themselves into the minds of the leaders of a newly-emerged nation deeply

committed to the overthrow of "colonial" regimes on its borders, that led the policy makers in the U.N. camp to think that they would be believed if they made declarations of peaceful intent toward China.

The Chinese Communist Government may have decided to intervene in North Korea early in October when it was learned that U.S. troops had crossed the 38th parallel.⁷ By the end of October six Chinese armies, each of three divisions of 10,000 men, had crossed the Yalu River. The 39th and 40th Armies entered North Korea at Sinuiju; the 38th and 42nd passed through Manp'ojin. These four armies, components of General Lin Piao's celebrated Fourth Field Army, the conquerors of the Nationalist forces in 1949, were the first Chinese Communist formations to enter the fighting against the U.N. Within two weeks two more Armies, the 50th and 66th, had entered the battle zone. Together with four artillery divisions, several transport regiments and a cavalry regiment, these forces had an approximate strength of 180,000. Five armies concentrated in front of the Eighth U.S. Army, while the sixth moved east against the 10th U.S. Corps.

Neither the advancing columns of the U.N. nor their air reconnaissance units were able to detect these large scale moves, conducted as they were at night with great secrecy. The first Chinese soldier was captured by the 1st R.O.K. Division at Unsan on 25 October and nine more were taken by the end of the month in different sectors. Although their prisoners talked freely and at length, Eighth Army Intelligence was reluctant to announce such a buildup as their statements indicated when this information was unsupported by any other source. From the first the North Korean Army had contained numbers of troops who had been trained in Manchuria by the Chinese Communists and it seemed logical to assume that the Chinese were sending more reinforcements of this kind across the Yalu to bolster the shattered divisions of the North Korean Army. The presence of a large body of troops along the Manchurian border was known to Intelligence at Headquarters Far East Command, but the apparent failure to reconstitute the fleeing North Koreans into effective formations seemed to indicate that "the C.C.F. [Chinese Communists] and Soviets, in spite of their continued interest and some blatant public statements, have decided against further expensive investment in support of a lost cause". Chou En-tai's statement to the Indian Ambassador on 3 October that China would send troops to help North Korea if U.S. or U.N. troops crossed the 38th parallel was considered to be "in a category of diplomatic blackmail".⁸

Through the last weeks in October, as the U.N. forces pursued the remnants of the North Korean Army towards the Yalu, the burning question of Chinese Communist intervention was constantly reviewed at all levels of the U.N. Command. But on 27 October, at a time when thousands of organized Chinese troops were pouring across the Yalu, General Headquarters, United Nations and Far East Command showed them to be still poised for action in Manchuria, and stated that "the auspicious time for such inter-

vention has long since passed".⁹

Nevertheless, on 31 October, Brigadier Fleury reported to the Chiefs of Staff Committee in Ottawa that Intelligence in Tokyo was puzzled by statements made by Chinese prisoners to the effect that they had crossed the Manchurian border in formed bodies on or about 19 October. Enemy resistance was stiffening around Chongsanjangsi and in the rugged country north and north-west of Hungnam. One regiment of R.O.K. troops had been surrounded, the leading elements of three R.O.K. divisions had been halted and the Eighth Army had begun to organize a defensive position to prevent a flanking attack on U.S. and British troops advancing along the west coast. The R.O.K. troops advancing inland from the east coast were also meeting increasing resistance. Fleury added that G.H.Q. was giving close attention, in the light of prisoners' statements, to the fighting developing across the front.¹⁰

By the end of the first week in November it became obvious that a massive intervention was under way. Night reconnaissance planes now reported a heavy movement of vehicles on all roads leading into North Korea, particularly in the direction of the Eighth U.S. Army.¹¹ At G.H.Q. in Tokyo, great concern was now being felt over this development, although the estimate of numbers on 9 November was only between 30,000 and 40,000. Lieutenant-Colonel P.F.L. Sare, attending the daily briefings at G.H.Q. on behalf of Brigadier Fleury, found that the atmosphere had changed. He reported to Ottawa:

For several days now the various briefing officers have merely stated the facts as they know them without venturing an opinion regarding probable future action of either side. Everyone seems to be waiting to see what is going to happen, hesitant to venture an opinion, for fear of being caught off base.¹²

Sare received the impression that now, for the first time, there was a realization that the war might "drag out for some considerable time." There was talk of a "winter campaign" and a demand for arctic clothing. In Tokyo there was only enough of this type of clothing for one division.¹³

The presence of substantial Chinese forces did not deter MacArthur. Although their presence had created a sufficiently serious threat to force a general withdrawal of the Eighth U.S. Army to the Ch'ongch'on River, he ordered that the northward advance was again to be resumed on the west coast. At first, the Chinese Communists gave ground and the Eighth Army met only moderate opposition. The 9th U.S. Corps came up the west coast from south of Seoul on 5 November 50,¹⁴ and by the third week of November the leading elements of the formations in the western sector were almost as far north as they had been when the Chinese had first attacked. In the light of these successes Intelligence estimates at G.H.Q. continued to question the unsupported evidence of prisoners that upwards of 300,000 organized Chinese Communists troops had now entered North Korea. Headquarters British Commonwealth Occupation Forces (B.C.O.F.), in its

weekly review to Melbourne, Australia, Wellington, New Zealand and the War Office in London stated that as of 17 November there were three Chinese armies and one extra division in North Korea formed up in what appeared to be a wide circle screened by re-organized North Korean formations with the object of preventing U.N. forces gaining possession of the whole of North Korea. The review went on to say that the Eighth Army's operations during the following week would disclose whether the intervention was continuing or whether the Chinese, having imposed delay, would withdraw and leave the U.N. to the mercies of the North Korean winter.

On 24 November, General MacArthur opened a big new offensive. In later years he was to state that this operation was merely a reconnaissance in force, designed to discover the positions and true strength of the new enemy.¹⁵ In fact, the total resources of the Eighth Army and the 10th U.S. Corps were employed.¹⁶ It was an expensive reconnaissance. Two days after it began, the U.N. formations reached the enemy's main positions halfway between P'yongyang and the Yalu and were immediately thereafter attacked by greatly superior forces. Advancing against the right flank of the Eighth Army which was, as we have seen, separated from the 10th U.S. Corps by many miles of almost impassable mountains, the Chinese quickly turned the U.N. offensive into a retreat and a rout.

The Chinese counter-offensive overran the 2nd R.O.K. Corps, turned back the advance of the 25th U.S. Division and penetrated deeply into the 2nd U.S. Division, decimating the Turkish Brigade under its command. General MacArthur's reassuring remarks to American troops, delivered just prior to the abortive offensive, that they would be home for Christmas, now seemed overly optimistic. Masses of equipment and supplies were lost and casualties were heavy. The 1st U.S. Marine Division in the 10th U.S. Corps was surrounded and for a time it was thought that the 2nd U.S. Division had been eliminated as a fighting force.¹⁷ In the face of these setbacks, a general retreat was ordered. In the east, a defensive perimeter was established about Hungnam, from which port the surviving elements of the 10th U.S. Corps were evacuated by 24 December 1950.¹⁸ In the west, the Eighth U.S. Army retreated 70 or 80 miles to positions south of Pyongyang, and by 16 December 1950, held positions on the Imjin river north of Seoul.¹⁹

The Canadians Arrive in Korea

It was in this charged atmosphere of unexpected disaster that Brigadier Fleury welcomed the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. to the Far East. The occupation role which they had been sent to fill no longer existed. Instead, the emphasis had shifted to the speed with which the battalion could be thrown into action to help stop the advance from the North.

On 14 December Fleury had reported to the Chiefs of Staffs Committee that:

... the question of proper accommodation and a decent training area for 2 PPCLI in Korea has been a real headache. Initially, we settled tentatively . . . for satisfactory accommodation at Taegu. By way of additional insurance, the Advance Water Party reconnoitred another area in Pusan.

Several days ago, advice was received from Pusan that Eighth U.S. Army Headquarters and certain units were planning on withdrawing to Taegu and that Eighth Army had decided to take over the accommodation originally staked out for 2 PPLCI . . . Further advice was received from 2nd Logistical Command that the Pusan area would also be required for 8th Army purposes.²⁰

Fleury went on to describe other places that had been investigated, each of which in turn had for various reasons been denied him. The final decision was to quarter the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. near Pusan in the accommodation already occupied by the Advance Water Party.

The Advance Water Party (so named to distinguish it from a small party dispatched by air) had been organized to prepare for the arrival of the 25th Infantry Brigade. Its 31 officers and 317 other ranks²¹ had sailed from Seattle on 21 October thinking they were en route to Okinawa. During the voyage, they learned of the decision to reduce the Canadian contingent to one battalion, and since their arrival at Pusan on 7 November had been left in ignorance as to their future role. The coming of the P.P.C.L.I. ended the uncertainty. Brigadier Fleury was at last able to tell them that, aside from a few members who would remain to bring the battalion's administrative increment up to strength, the party would be flown back to Fort Lewis to rejoin parent units. The futility of this trans-Pacific junket, in which key officers and hundreds of men were kept in idleness in a distant land, awaiting a force that did not come until the following spring, illustrates the uncertainties that plague the planners of military operations. The Advance Water Party could well have remained in Korea for the few extra weeks it took to decide to send the rest of the 25th Brigade. But the decisive nature of the Chinese intervention was not clear at the time the decision to withdraw was taken. By 5 January 1951 the last plane load had left.

On the day Fleury's report was dispatched to Ottawa, the troopship carrying the *Patricias* and its increment left Yokohama and, after stopping overnight at Kobe to embark Marine reinforcements, docked at Pier 2, Pusan at 3:45 p.m., 18 December. Disembarkation of the 45 officers and 873 other ranks began at 7 p.m.²²

Eighth Army Calls for Immediate Action

The previous day, Major E.G. Brooks, of the Advance Water Party, had telephoned Brigadier Fleury in Tokyo. He had been told by the Eighth Army that the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. was to remain in Pusan only three days, for the purpose of unpacking its equipment. The battalion was then to proceed to a training area in the vicinity of Suwon. Fleury had received some warn-

ing of this plan in a message dated 3 December sent to him from Pusan by one of his staff.²³ In reporting confirmation of this earlier warning to the C.G.S., Fleury noted that Suwon was about 20 miles due south of Seoul.²⁴

The Canadian authorities viewed the proposal with disquiet. It seemed apparent, in the light of the military situation, that the Commanding General of the Eighth Army was preparing to use the P.P.C.L.I. before it had completed its training. Nevertheless, Major-General H. A. Sparling, the V.C.G.S., replying to this wire, stated that "on understanding that content of Command Instructions to Commanding Officer P.P.C.L.I. dated 13 November 1950, has been conveyed to all concerned, Canadian Government had ruled that no further communications will be made to U.S.A. authorities concerning the disposition. 2 P.P.C.L.I. in Korea." Major-General Sparling went on to request Brigadier Fleury to find out informally if the move to Suwon was dictated by operational necessity.²⁵

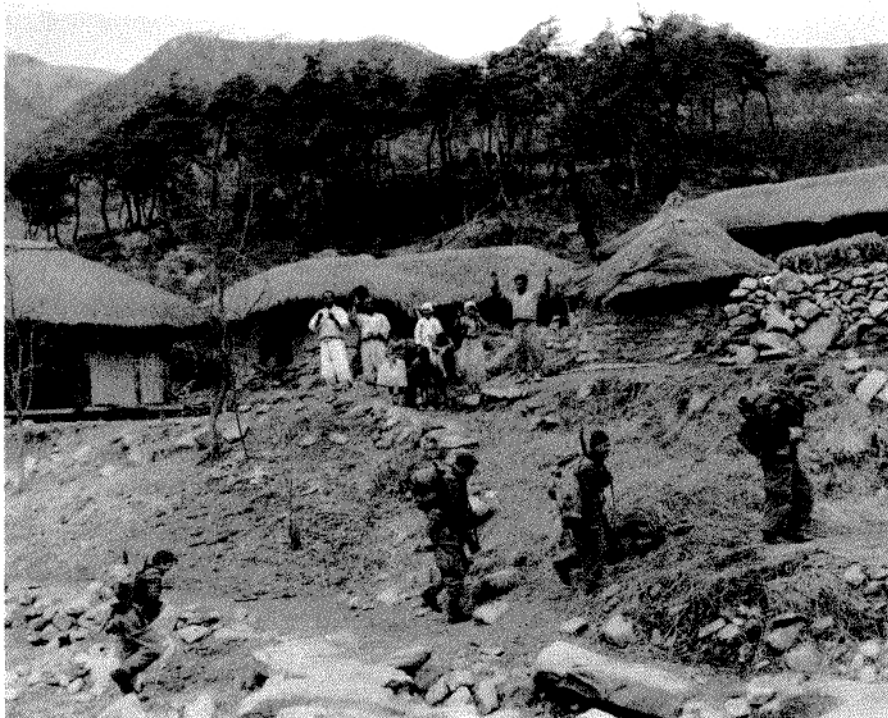
Lieutenant-Colonel Stone's command instructions had been framed with just such an eventuality in mind. It was one thing to send a half-trained battalion abroad for occupation duties, but quite another to expect it to fight. The relevant portion read:

In the event that operations are in progress when you arrive in Korea you are not to engage in such operations except in self-defence until you have completed the training of your command and are satisfied that your unit is fit for operations. This restriction in your employment has been communicated to the Commander, United Nations Forces, Korea.

On 19 December, the V.C.G.S. amplified his earlier instruction by quoting a memorandum from the Deputy Minister.

The Cabinet decided in relation to the 2nd Battalion of the PPCLI, then destined to land at Pusan, that having placed the 2nd Battalion under the unified command and notified that body that the Commanding Officer had been instructed not to engage in operations except in self-defence until training had been completed, it would be improper for the Canadian Government to make further representations regarding areas of training and deployment in Korea.²⁶

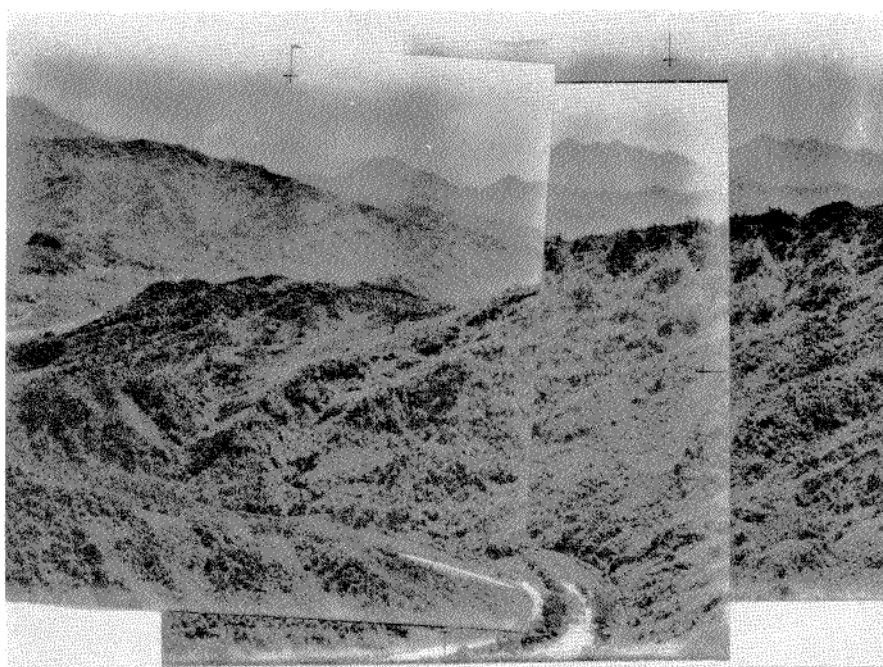
These communications had the effect of preventing Brigadier Fleury, as the representative of the Chiefs of Staff, from questioning the wisdom of a training area so close to a fluid battle line, or of warning against premature commitment of the P.P.C.L.I. The Commanding Officer of that battalion, after a series of fruitless discussions with members of General Walker's staff, flew to Seoul to state his case to the Army Commander himself, arriving on 20 December. Neither the Army Commander nor his Chief of Staff was inclined to appreciate Stone's position. The situation on the fighting front seemed ominous. Although the U.N. withdrawal to the



W.H. Olson

“LIBERATION” – KOREAN STYLE

Men of the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. follow the retreating Chinese, March 1951.



VIEW OF FEATURE AT G.R. 6994 LOOKING SOUTHEAST

KAP'YONG

The 2nd P.P.C.L.I. positions in the Kap'yong valley from the enemy point of view, May 1951.



W.H. Olson

MAINTAINING COMMUNICATIONS

A Canadian signalman checks the 25th Brigade telephone lines assisted by one of the many Korean youngsters who attached themselves to the force as "Indigenous Labour", May 1951.

Imjin River had resulted in a pause in hostilities, there was ample evidence that the Chinese Communist Forces were regrouping and bringing up supplies with which to renew the offensive. General Walker wanted the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. to move forward at once and join the 29th British Independent Infantry Brigade Group, which was occupying a reserve position behind the Imjin River defences north of Seoul. Had his orders been carried out, the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. would have shared the full weight of the assault that fell, some ten days later, on the 29th Brigade. Lieutenant-Colonel Stone, while reluctant to begin his association with the U.N. force in such a seemingly grudging fashion, tried to explain his position. But it became obvious that neither General Walker nor his Chief of Staff had seen Stone's command instructions: the Chief of Staff advanced the opinion that the Patricia's' state of training compared very favourably with that of the embattled American troops under the Eighth U.S. Army's command. In this he was probably right; the build-up of the American forces in the theatre had necessitated a greatly reduced training period for reinforcements.

Stone, however, had responsibilities, not only to the Eighth Army, but to the Canadian Government. He knew that, with the memory of alleged unpreparedness at Hong Kong in 1941 still fresh in Canadian minds, the Government meant him to resist any pressure that would put his half-trained battalion into action in time to participate in a disaster: Since verbal explanation had not succeeded, he produced his instructions. The Army Commander at once agreed to allow the Canadian battalion to proceed with the eight weeks training Stone considered necessary.²⁷ Three days later, on the 23rd of December, General Walker was killed in a motor accident, and his replacement, Lieutenant-General Matthew B. Ridgway, did not re-open the question of Canadian participation in the desperate battles that followed.

The consequences of sending troops out of Canada before they had completed their training had once again been demonstrated. No lives were lost because of it, but the embarrassment of having to turn down an operational commitment remained (to say nothing of the trouble caused) out of all proportion to the size of the contribution. It is perhaps fortunate that Eighth Army reaction has not been recorded.

Meanwhile, in Pusan, the battalion had disembarked. The War Diary records the event:

The Republic of Korea Army and Navy bands were at the dock side. Later on the American Army showed up and welcomed us to the tune of 'If I Knew You Were Coming I'd Have Baked a Cake' ... the Battalion ... began disembarking at 1930 hours ... considerable mail was waiting for us.²⁸

In its proximity to the mainland, the island of Mokto, where the P.P.C.L.I. was to spend the next ten days, bears a resemblance to Hong Kong, although a bridge spans the short water gap. The city of Pusan overflows the mainland onto the eastern end of the island. Near these island

outskirts, at the foot of a steep hill dominating the harbour, the Advance Water Party had established itself in several, wood and stucco school buildings. To accommodate the Patricias, tents were erected on the school playground and the battalion was made as comfortable as possible. Here the P.P.C.L.I. portion of the Advance Water Party, consisting of two officers and 41 other ranks, rejoined their unit.

Stone recorded his first impressions of Korea in a letter to Brigadier Rockingham:

Korea is a land of filth and poverty ... nothing but hard work will alleviate the boredom that will soon set in Diseases, except venereal ones, probably will not be a problem during the winter, but as all fertilizing of fields is done with human excreta there is no doubt that there will be a health problem in the spring and summer. The dust at present is germ-laden and is causing some respiratory trouble, but the sickbay has only a few patients²⁹

When Lieutenant-Colonel Stone returned to Pusan he found his battalion engaged in unpacking and sorting the masses of stores and equipment which had been sent with them. There were inexplicable shortages in such items as field cooking equipment and tentage, but the battalion found itself, with certain exceptions, well provided with technical stores. The first shipment of batteries for the platoon man-packed wireless sets could not be used; the plug, on the lead from the set itself could not be fitted into the receptacle in the battery. There was a shortage of watches - the boxes when opened were found to contain nothing but sawdust and lead.³⁰

An area some fifty miles north of Pusan was now allocated to the battalion as a camp and, training area, and on 23 December a reconnaissance group headed by Major H. D. P. Tighe, the second-in-command, left to prepare the site.³¹ It was to be the best location the battalion was to occupy for its entire stay in Korea. Located in an apple orchard on the banks of the Miryang, river, a tributary of the Naktong, the area was free of the malodorous rice paddies that were to become so familiar. Although there was ice in the river on most mornings and fuel for the heaters in the American squad tents was in short supply, the Patricias would suffer worse discomfort in the months ahead.

The move to the Miryang area by truck convoy began on 27 December, two days after, a Christmas celebration, made warm by good food, a beer issue, and parcels from home. By 29 December the battalion was concentrated in its training area, glad to be rid of the congestion and filth of Pusan.

Meanwhile, in Tokyo, Brigadier Fleury was concerned over equipment. On 11 December he had signaled the Quartermaster General that no maintenance except clothing would be necessary from Canada. But the sharp drop in levels of supply as a consequence of the retreats in the north threatened to complicate the P.P.C.L.I.'s initial equipment needs. Stores intended for the Canadians might have to be diverted to meet the demands

of troops already in battle.³² Turning to maintenance, Fleury assured the Q.M.G. that the battalion would for the most part live off the British Commonwealth Korean Base. For American items such as vehicles, mortars and rocket launchers, he planned that the Canadian force would simply demand through United States Army supply channels.³³ Later, the special circumstances of the Korean theatre would complicate this straightforward arrangement, but for the most part it worked satisfactorily throughout the campaign.

The training programme of the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. was designed to bring that unit to a state of operational readiness in the shortest possible time. The grim news that continued to arrive from the north forbade complacency. On 26 December Lieutenant-General Ridgway assumed command of the Eighth United States Army, Korea (EUSAK) "and all attached units" and issued a message in which he stated:

I have, with little advance notice, assumed heavy responsibilities before in battle, but never with greater opportunities for service to our loved ones and our nation in beating back a world menace which free peoples cannot tolerate ... You will have my utmost. I shall expect yours.

The message went on to request that General Ridgway's statement be made known to as many men as possible, including those of U.N. contingents, for whom prompt translation should be made as necessary.³⁴

The New Chinese Offensive

During November, three more Chinese armies had entered North Korea, the 20th, 26th and 27th. They were made up of four divisions each and brought the total number of divisions ranged against the U.N. forces to 30. This latest Chinese contribution had moved against the South Korean forces on the east coast leaving the 18 divisions of the Fourth Field Army facing nine U.N. divisions in the centre and west. The new Chinese offensive began on New Year's Eve, directed at Seoul and Kap'yong in the west and Wonju in the centre.

Four Chinese divisions and three re-organized North Korean divisions led the assault. By the afternoon of New Year's day the enemy had crossed the Imjin River and penetrated to within nine miles of Uijongbu in the 1st U.S. Corps sector, six miles south of Tongduch'on in the 9th U.S. Corps sector, and reached Kap'yong in the 3rd R.O.K. Corps' rear area.³⁵ Directing their attacks along corps and divisional boundaries, and on the high ground flanking the main road to Seoul, the Communist troops made rapid progress.

This time, however, the U.N. Command had ample warning. Knowing that the enemy had a limited capacity for sustained operations due to air interdiction of his supply lines, and aware that the Chinese uncommitted reserves were large, the decision was made to evacuate Seoul and withdraw

south of the Han River. The withdrawal was not accomplished without bitter fighting as the enemy sought to cut off the retiring troops of the U.N. command by infiltration, encirclement and ambush. The 27th British Commonwealth Brigade, which had been in reserve, carried out a fighting withdrawal through Uijongbu, covered the withdrawal through Seoul of the 1st U.S. Cavalry and the 24th U.S. Divisions and crossing the Han on 4 January, concentrated, finally two days later some 45 miles south-east of Seoul. The British 29th Independent Infantry Brigade, in 1st U.S. Corps reserve when the offensive began, was ordered into a covering position about ten miles north of Seoul, where they were attacked in strength early in the morning of 3 January. After suffering heavy casualties and losing 14 tanks, in a day-long see-saw battle, the brigade was ordered to withdraw south of the Han to a position near the west coast 2 miles north of P'yongt'aek.

Meanwhile, the Patricias had not been idle. On 5 January Stone ordered a reconnaissance of the roads leading to Taegu in case the battalion was required to stiffen the defence perimeter of that vital base. Collective training emphasized mobility in the hills and lessons picked up from the British contingent were taught, stressing all-round defence by night, with company "islands" on high ground. Stone's training programme aimed at the physical hardening of his men. The weeks they had spent traveling to Korea had done little to maintain fitness. Hill-climbing, cross-country movement and hard exercise were combined with lessons on the American supporting weapons they now began to use for the first time. The many drills for deployment and reconnaissance that must be learned if real mobility is to be achieved were practised continuously. The Patricias studied to avoid a mistake made by their predecessors earlier in the campaign and perfected their section and platoon tactics on the enemy's own ground, the high ridges.

At Miryang the Canadian reputation for improvisation was re-established. It was found, for instance, that a tarpaulin pressed into a jeep trailer made an adequate bath-tub, and using one bucket of hot water per man, 12 or more men per hour could bathe in comfort. One item of Canadian equipment quickly proved unsatisfactory. The steel-shod, leather-soled issue boot was a poor protection against cold, and wore out rapidly in constant contact with rock and slate. Lieutenant-Colonel Stone requested an issue of the high top American boot with composition sole.³⁶

The weather, remained for the most part cold and clear, with occasional flurries of snow. On 11 January a guard of honour paraded to receive the blue and white flag of the United Nations from Colonel James Plimsoll, the Australian delegate to the United Nations Commission in Korea. As the enemy in the north began once more to press the U.N. line, this time against the R.O.K. divisions at the eastern end, a dangerous situation in its immediate area provided the Canadian battalion with some unexpected re-

alism in its training.

Hunting Guerrillas

An increase in guerrilla activity which seems to have been planned to coincide with the drive down the East coast by the Communist forces, now provided the battalion with a live enemy. On the evening of 13 January two separate guerrilla attacks on vehicles of the 16th Field Regiment, Royal New Zealand Artillery – which had moved in nearby for training – killed two gunners and wounded two others. Three days later, Lieutenant H. T. Ross, a P.P.C.L.I. platoon commander, was slightly wounded by a sniper's bullet. Lieutenant-Colonel Stone obtained permission from Eighth U.S. Army to consult with the local Korean police forces and, after obtaining information from them as to likely guerrilla hiding places, he put Major C. V. Lilley, Officer Commanding "B" Company, in charge of an operation against them.

The road between Pusan and Miryang ran through the guerrilla infested area, the valley of the Naktong River, dominated from the north by a 2,700 foot feature called T'ogok-san. In this vicinity "C" Company had been assisting in the preparation of "The Radar Line", a last ditch defensive perimeter covering Pusan, and would be available if required. On 16 January the clearing operation began. The three platoons of "B" Company, augmented by squads of Korean police, first surrounded and then climbed to the rocky lairs of the guerrillas. It was gruelling work against an elusive enemy. At nine-thirty p.m., after a day of searching deserted villages for concealed ammunition and supplies, a small party of guerrillas was sighted moving along a ridge line. They were at once brought under fire and scattered. Later trails of blood and abandoned weapons and food were found, which testified to the effectiveness of Patricia markmanship.

The next day more small parties were flushed from the fields and hillsides and further casualties inflicted. In three days "B" Company uncovered several caches of ammunition and food, killed two and wounded several of the guerrillas, and rescued three American engineers whose road maintenance party had been under fire from a small band of the enemy. At one time a party of 40 men from "C" Company, led by their Officer Commanding, Major J. H. B. George, assisted "B" Company by climbing a steep feature to the north of T'ogok-san and driving off a small guerrilla party.³⁷

In a report written the day after the conclusion of the guerrilla operation Major Lilley wrote in part:

Men learnt to live, keep warm and alive in the open. I consider hunting guerrillas the best company exercise ... it brings out all the tactical and administrative lessons that have to be learnt. If this area is left alone for 3 or 4 days and then a company is put in: I feel certain that more enemy can be killed.³⁸

The Patrician were beginning to ‘take the measure of their foe.

Problems of Command and Control

While the Patricians continued their collective training programme an irritant arose that was to be a repeated source of difficulty throughout the campaign. This was the problem of command and control of those troops sent to the theatre as administrative support for the field force. The soldiers in these increments were spread in small groups from the fighting front to the base areas in South Korea and Japan, and integrated with both U.S. and British service units in order to keep track of Canadian equipment. Brigadier Fleury’s terms of reference specifically excluded ‘him from any command responsibilities, and although Lieutenant-Colonel Stone’s instructions implied that he also had no responsibility for the administrative increment, subsequent wires from the Adjutant General insisted that Stone was in fact to command it.³⁹

Fleury considered this arrangement unsound. He felt that Stone could not command his battalion in action and at the same time supervise the activities of men attached to U.S. and British service units hundreds of miles in his rear. In describing the situation, he said that geography alone would hinder effective control; the Commanding Officer of the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. would be “looking over his shoulder” towards the scattered parties of service troops when he should be left to fight the battle.⁴⁰ This phrase would recur in telegrams and letters when Brigadier Rockingham and the 25th Infantry Brigade arrived in the theatre to be faced with the problem on a much larger scale.

Army Headquarters did not at this time act to provide a commander for Canadian base troops. The success of the Chinese intervention was forcing a reassessment of the future of the rest of the C.A.S.F. and study of the problem was deferred until the larger decision could be taken. Brigadier Fleury was not provided with a solution to this difficulty until the arrival of the rest of the 25th Brigade seemed to solve it. Stone agreed with Fleury’s views and granted Major Brooks (who had been appointed Canadian D.A.A. & Q.M.G. British Commonwealth Base Area) the powers of a detachment commander and told him that the administrative troops were his responsibility. Later, Fleury sent one of his two senior staff officers to Korea to take over the task. This machinery of command and control was still to give occasional difficulty, but it worked reasonably well until the remainder of the brigade arrived, when the problem was finally tackled and solved.

P.P.C.L.I. Leave for the Front

By the end of January the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. had reached an advanced stage of training. On 2 February, Lieutenant-Colonel Stone began an exer-

cise for his battalion that lasted until 7 February. Exercise “Maple Leaf”, designed to put the finishing touches to the weeks of work, covered all aspects of the advance, attack, defence and withdrawal. On 8 February, Stone notified Fleury in Tokyo that he would be ready to undertake an operational role on 15 February.⁴¹ A week later, the main body began to move to the front.

From the first the Patricias had expected to go into action under command of the 29th British Independent Infantry Brigade Group, a formation that had arrived in Korea in November 1950 direct from the United Kingdom. A Canadian liaison officer, Captain. J. M. Bowie, who had flown out with the small Advance Air Party, had been attached to Brigade Headquarters for many weeks. At 3:50 p.m. on 9 February however, only two days after the Patricias’ final exercise, a message from Eighth Army announced that on 15 February the battalion was to begin to move to the area occupied by the 9th U.S. Corps, where it would come under command of the 27th British Commonwealth Infantry Brigade.⁴² Half an hour later, a message was received from Brigadier T. Brodie, the Commander of 29th Brigade, confirming the change in plan, expressing disappointment and hoping to “be alongside 2 P.P.C.L.I. sometime in the future”.⁴³ The day ended with the arrival of 23 reinforcements from Fort Lewis, bringing the battalion nearly up to strength.

Brigadier Fleury outlined the reasons for the change in destination in a periodic report to the Chiefs of Staff in Ottawa. The additional strength was felt to be of more value to the 27th Brigade, which was weaker than the 29th and occupied a more critical area.⁴⁴ The 27th British Commonwealth Infantry Brigade was a seasoned, formation, having participated in operations in Korea since the defence of the Pusan perimeter. The Commander, Brigadier B. A. Coad, who had commanded a division do North-West Europe during the Second World War, had brought his brigade from Hong Kong in August. It had originally consisted of two units, the 1st Battalion, The Middlesex Regiment (Duke of Cambridge’s Own) – which had fought beside Canadians in Hong Kong in 1941 – and the 1st Battalion, The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (Princess Louise’s), Later; the 3rd Battalion, The Royal Australian Regiment, the 60th Indian Field Ambulance and the 16th Field Regiment, Royal New Zealand Artillery joined the brigade. The addition “of the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. rounded-out its Commonwealth character.

The advance party of the Patricias arrived in their concentration area near the 9th U.S. Corps Headquarters on 12 February. The new area, near the town of Changhwon, a river and road junction about 45 miles southeast of Seoul, provided few amenities. The weather was bitterly cold; with occasional gusts of snow; several dead bodies of inhabitants were found, and there was much sickness among the civilians who still clung desperately to the primitive protection of their battered villages. The main body of

the battalion arrived at 1:00 p.m., on 17 February, having taken over two days to cover the 150 miles of congested roads through guerrilla-infested mountains and over treacherous passes. Lieutenant-Colonel Stone left at once to report to the tactical headquarters of the 27th British Commonwealth-Infantry Brigade.⁴⁵

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST ENCOUNTERS

Advance to Contact 19–28 February

ON 16 FEBRUARY, while the 2nd Patricias were on the move to join it, the 27th British Commonwealth Infantry Brigade was committed at the western end of the 10th U.S. Corps sector. The rejuvenated Eighth U.S. Army under its new Commander, General Ridgway, was advancing in the west in spite of heavy defensive fighting, in progress further east. The 27th Brigade was to advance north-east, under command of the 2nd U.S. Infantry Division, in the general direction on Hongch'on, from positions immediately north of Yoju. On 17 February, however, Ridgway shifted corps boundaries to permit a further concentration of the 10th U.S. Corps against new Chinese attacks,¹ and as part of this change, the 27th Brigade came under command of the 9th U.S. Corps. As a result, it found itself on the right of the Corps front, with the 1st U.S. Cavalry Division on its left. On 21 February, the 6th R.O.K. Division was deployed on its right, relieving the brigade of its responsibility for the Corps boundary. The brigade then continued to advance between the 1st U.S. Cavalry Division and the 6th R.O.K. Division.² In a few days, this movement became part of a general advance towards the 38th parallel against Chinese and North Korean rearguard actions.

One of the difficulties confronting anyone attempting to describe battles in Korea is the endless monotony of the many nameless hills. The Canadians simply numbered them by using their height in metres, while the Americans tended to use descriptive names. Where possible in this book Korean names are used in the text, in spite of the fact that they are, for the most part, as enigmatic as the numbers.

The Patricias arrived at Changhowon-ni, two miles south of Yoju, on 17 February. Two days later, Stone moved the battalion to Chuarn-ni, within the brigade area, and at 11 a.m. on the same day, the Canadians advanced north up the valley, with the object of capturing Hill 404.³ On this first day of the advance the men were given a grim lesson on the danger of underrating the Chinese enemy. By the roadside were the bodies of 65 American soldiers who had been surprised by the Chinese at night and killed while still in their sleeping bags. Thereafter the Canadian troops used blankets when resting in the front lines. Hill 404, the first battalion objective, was not defended; the Patricias occupied it without opposition.

On 20 February, Brigadier Coad called his battalion commanders together to receive new orders. General Ridgway's Operation "Killer" was going well and as part of a further advance he had ordered the 9th Corps to begin a new offensive the next day. The brigade's task was to advance north-east with its final objective the high ground north-west of Hoensong. The 1st U.S. Cavalry Division would be on its left and the 6th R.O.K. Division on its right. The 10th Corps would attempt a right hook designed to cut off Hoensong and trap large numbers of the enemy.⁴

Brigadier Coad laid down intermediate objectives for what he hoped would be a three day operation. Since the country ahead was mountainous, Korean porters were brought forward, 250 for each battalion. The Argylls and P.P.C.L.I. would lead. The starting point for the Patricias' advance was the area of Sangsok, some 4,000 yards to the east of Hill 404, and at 10 a.m. on 21 February Stone and his men began to advance up the valley running north from that village. Hills ranging in height from 800 to 1,400 feet rose on either side. Rain, mixed with snow, turned the roads and tracks into quagmires and soon fog began to fill the valley. In spite of these difficulties, the battalion made progress. "D" Company made the first contact with the enemy when its leading elements came under fire near Chohyon from high ground to the north-east. This burst of fire was the only opposition encountered, and by 5 p.m. Tactical Headquarters was established in the little village of Wol, with the companies deployed on the surrounding hills, enjoying the first rum issue of the campaign. The steep hillsides had been treacherous with ice; two officers suffered severe injuries in falls and had to be evacuated. Some dead children were the only occupants of the thatched huts of Wol-li and Stone afterwards felt that the smallpox which struck him down in the following month may have been picked up here.

The hill positions were 400 metres high and had to be dug through several feet of snow. The weather turned bitterly cold and the men's parkas froze to their bodies. The only precaution that could be taken was to insist that the men walk about every 15 minutes. This night passed slowly.

Next day, the 22nd, the battalion continued up the valley, clearing the heights on either side. Major George's "C" Company sustained the unit's first battle casualties in a two-platoon attack on Hill 444, when it lost four killed and one wounded. As the advance neared Hill 419 at the head of the valley, opposition increased; this height was one of two which controlled a pass leading into the next valley. "B" Company came under fire early in the afternoon from Hill 419 and Major Lilley ordered two platoon attacks that over-ran the Chinese outposts. Lieutenant-Colonel Stone ordered up "A" Company to strengthen Lilley's newly gained positions and began to prepare for a battalion attack on the hill next morning.

This attack, led by "C" and "D" Companies, went in at 9 a.m. on 23 February but an inaccurate napalm attack by the U.S. Air Force on Hill 444 stalled the "C" Company advance and "D" Company went forward alone.

Strong resistance was encountered and no troops succeeded in reaching the objective. At last, with night coming on, Stone ordered the two companies to dig in below the high ground to the left of Hill 419. The day's casualties had been six killed and eight wounded. The hills controlling the pass were precipitous and covered with undergrowth; it was hard enough to climb them, let alone fight as well and the elusive enemy was difficult to pinpoint and engage. Brigadier Coad moved up the 3rd Royal Australian Regiment to Hill 523 on the P.P.C.L.I. right, and the Australians, under heavy fire from Hill 614, which controlled the pass from the east, also dug in for the night.

Next day "D" Company (Captain J. G. Turnbull) attempted again to reach the crest near Hill 419, this time by advancing along the high ground from the right. The company went in after preparatory artillery fire from the New Zealanders and air bombardment from the U.S.A.F. and succeeded in reaching the forward edge of the objective. Here it came under fire from both flanks as well as from the front, and was forced to retire and dig in short of the objective. To the east, the Australians also failed in an attack on Hill 614, which dominated "D" Company's objective.

On the 23rd the bridge over the Han had been washed away by the heavy rain and rations, gasoline and ammunition were soon in short supply. On the 26th a North Korean deserter came through the lines and told brigade interrogators that three battalions of the 124th and 125th Chinese Divisions were defending the positions that controlled the pass. The other units of these divisions were preparing positions on the next range of hills to the north. In view of all these factors, further attacks on Hill 419 were suspended. The battalion patrolled from its company positions until 27 February, when the Australians succeeded in capturing Hill 614. As a result of this success, Hill 419 became untenable by the enemy, and the Patricias took it on 28 February without serious opposition and dug in, finding and sending back in the process the bodies of four Canadian soldiers who had been killed in earlier actions. The Chinese had evidently brought them back with their own dead and then stripped them of their clothing. The next day emphasis was placed on opening up the winding road leading to the pass.

By the first of March, the brigade held positions at the apex of a long salient, with the 1st Cavalry Division and the 6th R.O.K. Division echeloned back from it on its left and right respectively. On the 3rd, the Middlesex and the Argylls moved a long bound north into positions on Hill 484 and 450 respectively, while the Patricias went into reserve for a rest and clean-up.

The forward positions now lay nearly two miles north of the pass, overlooking a valley running east and west, with the village of Hagal on the floor of the valley almost immediately below them. There the brigade sat, waiting for the line to be straightened and the flanks secured. It had advanced sixteen miles over difficult country, against stubborn rearguard ac-

tions, in less than two weeks. This was not spectacular by the standards of the Second World War, but uncertainty about enemy intentions and dispositions demanded a deliberate advance; the lessons of the previous autumn had been absorbed.

The ground now facing the Commonwealth troops differed in one important respect from that already covered. Previously, the valleys had run generally north and south, carved by rivers draining -south into the Han. Now they ran east and west, the high ground between them interposing a series of formidable obstacles to the brigade's advance northeast. During the next week the 27th Brigade remained on its hills overlooking the tributary of the Huk-ch'on and the village of Hagal which straggled along its banks. The road over the pass was improved by American engineers to permit passage of light traffic and by 5 March the 6th R.O.K. Division had come up in line on the right of the brigade. During this interval, patrols had probed north and west as far as the valley of the Huk-ch'on without making contact.

The Advance is Resumed, 7-13 March 1951

At first it was thought that the enemy intended to offer maximum resistance on each of the natural lines of defence confronting the brigade. On 3 March Brigadier Coad had gone to 9th Corps Headquarters for orders and learned of a new operation which Eighth Army called Operation "Ripper". Under command of the 1st Cavalry Division the brigade would participate in an advance to line "Albany" some eight miles to the north. D Day was to have been 6 March, but the attack was postponed 24 hours while the initial objectives were pounded by artillery and air strikes.⁵

On 7 March, at 6 a.m., the brigade's portion of the corps attack was launched on a two-battalion front, with the Patricias left and the Australians right. The objectives were two steep hills, 532 and 410, almost directly opposite the positions of the Middlesex and the Argylls. The road through the pass was still difficult and the paths leading down to the valley were treacherous and wet: the Patricias' attack did not begin until 7:00 a.m.

The Patricias' objective was Hill 532 and Stone sent two companies against it. "A" Company moved across the valley and up the ridge lines to the left of the objective while "D" Company crossed the stream at Hagal-li and climbed towards 532 frontally. "A" Company met only light resistance and by 8:00 had closed to within 1,800 yards of the objective. "D" Company had heavier going. Shortly after deploying from Hagal-li the company came under intense machine-gun fire from the forward slopes of 532 and the advance slowed down. Air strikes were added to the steady bombardment from the New Zealand Field Regiment and the battalion mortars, but the feature was large and the Chinese were well dug in and camouflaged. The attack slowed down to a series of stubbornly fought section battles

supported where possible by tanks from the 1st Cavalry Division.

In the afternoon snow began to fall, making observation difficult. "A" Company met increasing opposition along its ridge line and was forced to halt and dig in. "D" Company put in one last attack about 2:00 p.m. and managed to get some men on the top of the ridge above Hagal-li, only to find that they were in turn under fire from a higher eminence. Stone ordered the company to withdraw and sent forward "B" Company to hold the far side of the valley. The Chinese re-occupied the overhanging ridge. "D" Company re-organized out of small-arms range. The company had lost six killed and 28 wounded.

Although the "D" Company attack failed to achieve complete success, it had been pushed home most gallantly. Private L. Barton, batman to the platoon commander of the leading platoon, particularly distinguished himself. After his officer and several members of the platoon were wounded, he rallied the remainder and led their advance. He was himself wounded three times, but carried on until ordered to the rear. A good part of the ultimate success of the attack may be attributed to his bravery, for which he was awarded the Military Medal, and became the first Canadian to be decorated in: the Korean War.

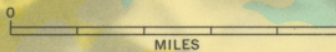
"D" Company's lack of success had been matched by equal failure on the: left and right flanks of the brigade. The Greek troops of the 1st Cavalry Division on the left did not get across the valley, and on the right the 6th R.O.K. Division trailed some 6,000 yards in rear. Within the brigade, the Australians on the right of the Patrician had failed to capture Hill 410. Next morning, all was changed. The Chinese had spent the night lobbing grenades into the "B" Company positions, but when at 5:00 a.m., the angry Patricians fixed bayonets and, led by Major Lilley, charged up the hill, they found only two Chinese soldiers in the defences that had held up "D" Company the day before. By 9:00 a.m. "B" Company was firm on 532. They counted 47 Chinese dead.

The Chinese enemy, surprisingly, had broken- contact. All along the 9th Corps front he had disappeared, leaving behind him evidence of hasty departure in the shape of ammunition dumps and equipment. On 9 March, the Middlesex and the Argylls occupied positions on the next line of high ground to the north, and on the 10th the Patricians occupied Hill 685, named Kalgi-san, across the new valley from the Argylls. After this there was one more valley to cross, one more hill to climb, until on 13 March, the 27th Brigade was "squeezed out" by the 1st Cavalry and 6th R.O.K. Divisions and moved to the rear into Corps reserve. The Patricians' area was near the village of Sanggwang, on the banks of the Huk-ch'on about ten miles behind the front lines.

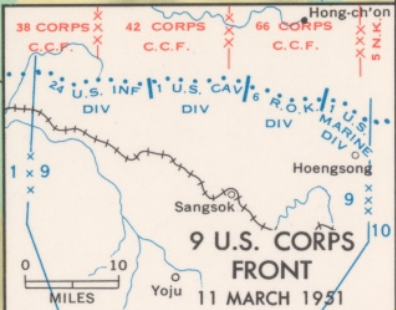
OPERATIONS 27 BRITISH COMMONWEALTH INFANTRY BRIGADE

19 FEBRUARY - 11 MARCH 1951

Canadian forces →
Other Commonwealth forces →



Contours indicated by layer tints: 200, 400, 600 metres



Reproduced by Army Survey Establishment R.C.E.

The three weeks of sporadic fighting had cost the Patricias 57 casualties, 14 of them fatal. The rigorous training in the hills around Miryang had stood the test of battle, and the battalion awaited its next assignment with confidence.

In summing up the Patricias' experience, Stone reported to the C.G.S. that the enemy was determined in defence, excellent at sitting mutually supporting, well protected, weapon pits, but had little mortar or artillery support and that mostly inaccurate. In a telegraphic style forced on him by the discomforts of writing in the field he went on:

Own troops show lack of basic training, particularly in caring for weapons and equipment. Much "scruff" that was hastily recruited has now been returned to Canada. Troops here are fit, morale high, show lots of guts in close contact. Lack of comfort which is general in this theatre is being compensated with troops' own ingenuity Officers are generally good but junior ranks show need of a company commander's school.

Practical experience will help but certain basic principles of military thinking are lacking. Troops are very well led and the aggressiveness they display in attack under very difficult circumstances is a great credit to the officers.

Stone's report closed with a graphic description of the fighting: the difficulty of using artillery effectively on the huge hills and the "company commander's battle" that resulted. These conditions demanded good basic training and "Canada is the place to discover weaknesses in the individual, not a battle theatre."⁶

The "Wastage" Crisis

Stone's reference in his report to "scruff which he had returned to Canada, was reflected in his casualty returns. During the training period at Miryang sixty "non-battle" casualties were reported and evacuated and during the 10 days from the 19th to the 29th of March there were eighty-six more.⁷ That these figures included men Stone sent back as unsatisfactory soldiers is made clear in a telegram which Brigadier Fleury sent to Ottawa as early as January 1951.

In announcing the return to Canada of twelve men from the P.P.C.L.I. on medical grounds, he reported that the men had "relatively minor physical defects". Fleury sent one of his staff to look them over. The officer had considered them to be "the sorriest looking lot he had ever seen in uniform". The Brigadier felt that the real trouble was not physical, but that Stone was using this method as a last resort to rid himself of the results of the hasty recruiting methods of the previous August.⁸ Nevertheless the strenuous life in the Korean hills soon brought to light real physical disabilities that should have been detected on enlistment, A draft of 16 N.C.Os. and men, returned to Japan in mid-February, contained men suffering from chronic bronchitis; flat feet, atrophy of the leg muscles, cardiac

palpitation, perforated ear drums, traumatic arthritis of the spine, hernia and hypertension. But by the end of March the number of non-battle casualties had dropped to a trickle, the ranks of the Patricias were filled by reinforcements of freshmen and the problem did not again crop up.

In Ottawa, the Adjutant General was concerned over the same situation in the 25th Brigade at Fort Lewis. After investigating the experience of the U.S. Army he addressed a memorandum to Lieutenant-General Simonds which showed that the Americans were suffering battle losses of 10 percent per month, and non-battle casualties of 8 percent. This meant a monthly replacement rate of 18 percent. When the large number of soldiers being returned from Fort Lewis was added, this was a disturbing statistic. Major-General Macklin wrote: "Applying this replacement rate to the 25th Infantry Brigade, with an establishment of 7,490, we reach the amazing figure of 1,350 replacements per month".⁹

A week later, on 13 March, he sent Brigadier Rockingham a long message on the subject. Pointing out that "These men you are now throwing out in such ever increasing numbers represent a vast expenditure of money and effort", he warned the Brigadier that "the effect of the wastage is so serious that we are going to have trouble finding trained men to reinforce you next summer. We have thrown out nearly two complete infantry battalions in past four months". Macklin's solution to the problem was to work harder at salvaging and training these men. He thought he saw evidence of mass malingering.¹⁰ There is little in the record to support this view. A study of the casualty returns of the spring of 1951 shows that the discharged soldiers fell into two broad categories: those who were disciplinary problems (many had previously undisclosed civil convictions) and the medically unfit which more leisurely medical examinations in Fort Lewis uncovered. Once this "house-cleaning" process was completed, by Stone in Korea and Rockingham in Fort Lewis, the rate of non-battle casualties dropped impressively and thereafter ceased to be a problem.

The Thirty-Eighth Parallel Again

A day or so after the relief of the 27th Brigade, it became clear that the enemy had abandoned his stubborn delaying action everywhere. Seoul was liberated by the 1st R.O.K. Division on 15 March.¹¹ On 19 March, Hongch'on was captured, the 1st Cavalry Division closing on it from the west and the 1st U.S. Marine Division from the east.¹² Two days later Ch'unch'on fell.¹³ During the last week in March, the 187th U.S. Airborne Regiment was dropped near Munsan, twenty-five miles north-west of Seoul, in an attempt to trap the retreating enemy, but the drop came too late; the Communists had withdrawn to fortified positions north of the 38th parallel.¹⁴

Once again the question of crossing the 38th parallel became an issue

within the higher levels of command and among the members of the United Nations.¹⁵ If the U.N. forces were to remain in Korea, two courses of action were open. The first was to try again for complete victory. To accomplish this, reinforcement of the U.N. forces was needed, as well as authorization of operations beyond Korean borders, particularly strategic air strikes against the Chinese bases in Manchuria. The second was to accept stalemate or "stabilization of the military position",¹⁶ in the hope that subsequent U.N. negotiations would end the conflict.

General MacArthur established himself as a supporter of the first course, and by so doing quickly revealed that his views commanded no support at all among most of the members of the United Nations. Mr. Truman, on the other hand, desired stabilization, not only because the other nations fighting under the U.N. flag wanted it, but because the alternative seemed to be "a general war with the Chinese Communists", with its attendant risks of a Third World War.¹⁷ The concept of "limited war" was a new one for many Americans. Accustomed as they were to think in terms of total victory, there were many voices raised against the stalemate which their allies in the U.N. seemed quite prepared to accept.¹⁸ But these allies felt that by driving the invading forces back behind the 38th parallel, the aim of the operation had been accomplished. Mr. Truman and his advisers, well aware of the hazards of an all-out offensive in the Far East, accepted this view.

MacArthur's method of influencing the decision led to his recall by the President. It was not the first time he had gone beyond the military sphere that was his proper concern, but it was to be the last. In what one diplomat called a "pronunciamento"¹⁹ the General made several high-sounding statements on relations with China, criticized by implication the policy restricting him to action in Korea handed the Chinese an ultimatum, and offered to discuss peace terms on the battlefield. Mr. Truman felt that MacArthur had once again invaded: the field of foreign policy and in doing so had challenged his authority and questioned the aims of the United Nations.²⁰ On 11 April, a few days after a letter from MacArthur to the Republican Minority Leader Joseph Martin (which criticised the government for not using the Chinese forces on Formosa) had been read out in the House of Representatives, the President called a news conference and announced that he was replacing MacArthur with Lieutenant-General Matthew B. Ridgway, the Eighth Army's Commander. Lieutenant-General James A. Van Fleet was flown out to Korea to take over command of the Eighth Army.

On the very day MacArthur issued the defiant statement that was to lead to his dismissal (24 April), the 27th Brigade was ordered into the line again. It had spent the time in reserve refitting and making liberal use of a bath unit loaned by the 1st Cavalry Division. On 17 March the Patricias had celebrated the birthday of their Colonel-in-Chief (Lady Patricia Ram-

say) with: a parade, a sports programme and a beer issue. On 23 March Brigadier Coad returned to Hong Kong on compassionate leave, relinquishing command to Colonel B. A. Burke, Deputy Commander of the 29th Brigade. The next day the Patricias' C.O., Lieutenant-Colonel Stone, was evacuated with smallpox. Major H. D. P. Tighe, the second-in-command, took over as acting C.O. On the 24th the new brigade commander received a warning order to move. Still in the 9th Corps, the brigade was to come under operational control of the 24th U.S. Infantry Division for the next operation, an advance to line "Benton", some five miles south of the 38th parallel. Brigadier Burke ordered a move by truck on the 25th that brought his brigade, in teeming rain, to Tabokch'on, a village on the bank of the Chojong River, some 50 miles north-west from their previous positions.²¹ The Commonwealth troops found the 24th U.S. Division advancing toward the 38th parallel to the west of Kap'yong with two Regimental Combat Teams forward.²² On 28 March the right team – the 19th R.C.T. – was withdrawn. The 27th Brigade and the 21st Regimental Combat Team now moved forward to continue the advance, the 27th Brigade in the centre with the 5th Regimental Combat Team on its left and the 21st on its right.²³

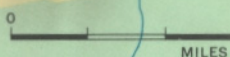
Following a Retreating Enemy, 29 March – 19 April

The brigade's axis of advance ran up the valley of the Chojong river, a tributary of the Pukhan. The operation began approximately five miles south of the head of the valley, which at this point in its course ran north and slightly east. The mountains on each side rose to heights of between 2,000 and 4,000 feet, their slopes scalloped with gullies. The crest line was continuous, and roughly paralleled the floor of the valley. Brigadier Burke planned to move with his headquarters up the valley road, with the battalions clearing the hills on either side. Major Tighe and his men were given the task of advancing along the eastern crest line.

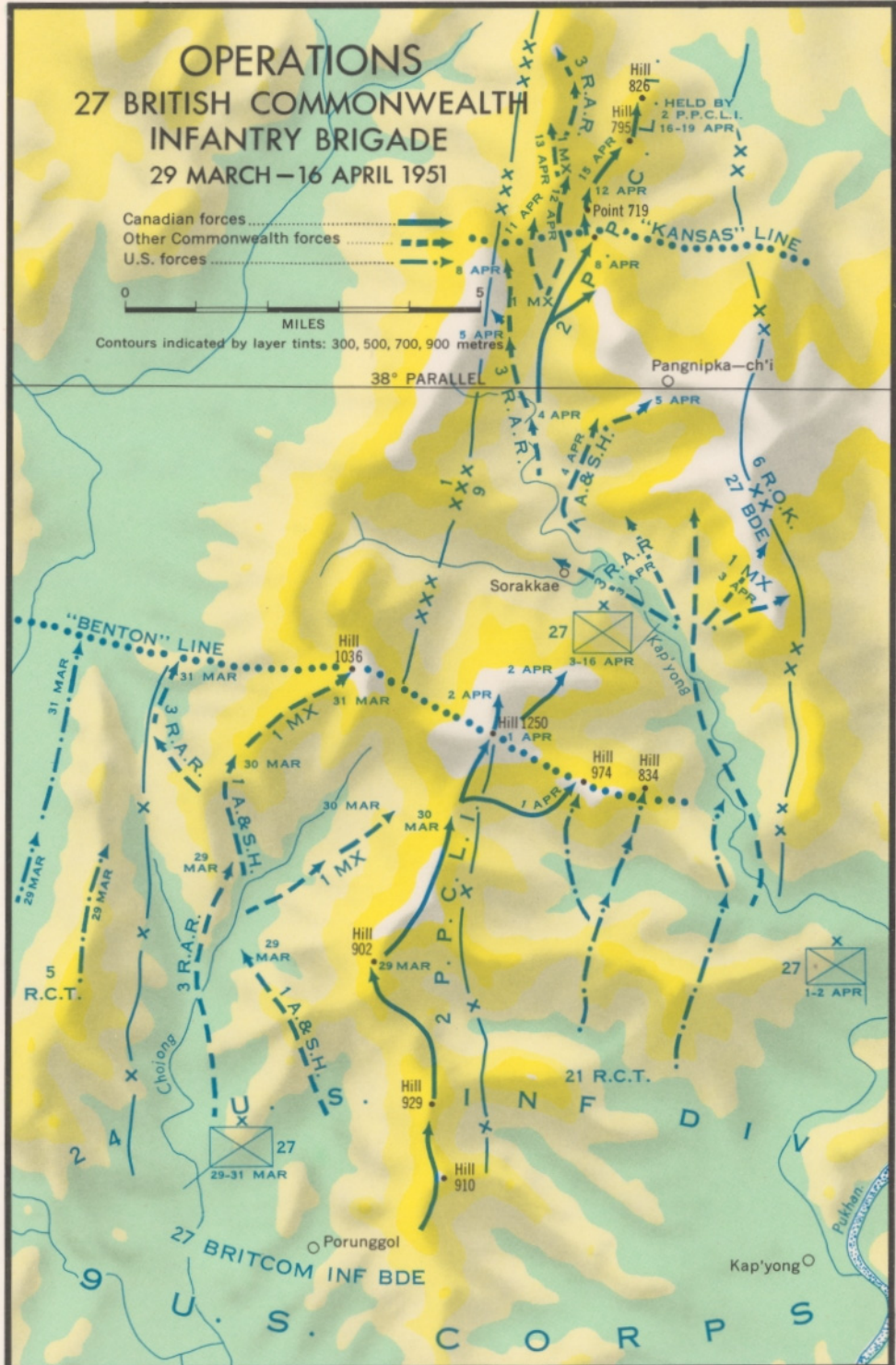
At 2:20 p.m. on 28 March, the Patricias reached the positions of the 3rd Battalion of the 19th Regimental Combat Team; the unit they were to relieve. These positions lay on the crest line, 3,000 yards north-east of Porunggol, and gave a view of the ground over which the unit was to advance. The prospect was not entirely pleasant. Snow lay four to five feet deep on the shaded slopes, and the line of the crest was broken by steep rock faces and cut by gullies. There were no roads on which a vehicle could move, and the troops had to be supplied by trains of South Korean porters. Battalion supporting weapons were reduced to one section of 81mm mortars. The advance started from Hill 929 on 29 March, and by the end of the month had passed north over five hills. The unit met no serious resistance as it scrambled forward over the rocky slopes and plunged through the snow fields. The main problem was supply, and full credit belongs to the Korean porters who each night performed feats of endurance to

OPERATIONS 27 BRITISH COMMONWEALTH INFANTRY BRIGADE 29 MARCH - 16 APRIL 1951

Canadian forces
Other Commonwealth forces
U.S. forces



Contours indicated by layer tints: 300, 500, 700, 900 metres



bring food and ammunition. On 31 March the advance halted before Hill 1250. The 21st Regimental Combat Team to the right put in an attack on the ridge line dominated by this hill, but failed to take it. They did, however, succeed in getting on Hills 974 and 834.

At the beginning of this advance Brigadier Rockingham visited the Canadians. He had left Fort Lewis for Japan and Korea on 23 March, and six days later he was climbing a steep slope in the area of Hill 929 in search of the forward companies of the Patricias. The Brigadier gained a clear impression of the difficulties of the Korean landscape on this, his first trip, for his guide took him by mistake to a ridge held by the Argylls. As a result, he was forced to descend this thousand-metre ridge and climb another equally high before he found the leading companies he was looking for; it was not until midnight that he began his return journey over the steep, snow-covered slopes.²⁴

By 31 March, the brigade's advance had reached the head of the Chong valley and captured its ultimate objective on line "Benton", a massive hill called 1036. As a result it was moved east to the valley of the Kap'yong river, where it was released from control of the 24th Division, and placed under the direct command of the 9th U.S. Corps.²⁵ The 27th Brigade, in its new advance up the Kap'yong valley, became the left flanking formation of the 9th Corps, with the 24th Infantry Division of the 1st U.S. Corps on its left, and the 6th R.O.K. Division of the 9th U.S. Corps on its right. Its objective was line "Kansas", just above the 38th parallel, a code name for a range of hills which was to figure prominently in subsequent operations.

During the early part of this advance, the Patricias remained in brigade reserve in the area of Sorakkae, while the other units pushed up the Kap'yong valley. On 7 April, however, the battalion was given the task of clearing a crest line from Pagnipko-ch'i to Hill 719, parallel to a similar line on the left which had already been cleared by the Australians. The unit crossed the 38th parallel on the next day, and on 11 April took Hill 719. This time the troops of the U.N. Command were not ordered to free North Korea; their role was to follow a retreating enemy, allowing him no chance to break contact and regain strength.

On 14 April, the brigade's axis was switched to the north-west, and to protect the brigade right flank, the Patricias were ordered to secure a two-mile long ridge that stretched off to the north-east until it ended at Hill 826. "D" Company (commanded now by Major R. K. Swinton) moved off at 7:00 a.m., advancing without opposition until about 3:00 p.m., when they came under fire from an intermediate feature, Hill 795. A platoon of "D" Company probed forward, its commander, Lieutenant A. Hill, was wounded and at 4:55 p.m. a company attack supported by artillery, mortar, and medium machine-gun fire was launched which reached and cleared the feature. Hill 795 was, however, dominated by Hill 826 and was untenable;

Major Tighe ordered "D" Company to withdraw to its original position, bringing its five wounded. The next day another attempt was made to reach Hill 826 and by 3:00 p.m. one platoon had reached its forward slopes. But darkness was approaching and the company formed a defensive position short of the objective. The following morning (16 April) the top of Hill 826 was reached without opposition and "D" Company consolidated there, harassed only by scattered enemy mortar fire.

The Australians had made a parallel advance on the left. These last advances were made against heavier resistance than had been encountered previously, but in the words of the 27th Brigade's diarist, "Both attacks were executed with dash and precision".²⁶ In view of the brigade's open right flank, no further advance was attempted. Brigadier Burke contented himself with patrol activity until relieved by troops of the 6th R.O.K. Division, which came up on the right and took over on 18 April. On relief, the battalions moved south to an area immediately north of the village of Kap'yong, in Corps reserve, while the 16th New Zealand Field Regiment remained behind in support of the 6th R.O.K. Division.

The entire front of the 9th Corps now lay north of the 38th parallel. The other corps of the Eighth U.S. Army had also crossed this line. The only sector still to the south was the left flank of the 1st Corps at a point below the junction of the Imjin and Hantan rivers.²⁷

The Action at Kap'yong, 23-25 April

During the advance to the 38th parallel, evidence had accumulated of a formidable enemy build-up opposite the 1st and 9th U.S. Corps in the area north of the line Ch'orwon-Hwach'on.²⁸ The enemy's withdrawal had straightened his line while placing his forces on the high ground north of the Imjin River delta. But the Communist forces hoped to achieve much more than this. In the words of a North Korean divisional directive:

The enemy is concentrating his entire resources in this offensive. We are presently withdrawing on all fronts. This is part of our strategy to lure U.S. troops into our position. We will hit them, inflict maximum casualties, and withdraw. This is our strategy.²⁹

They had ample troops with which to carry out their plan. While G.H.Q. Intelligence reports showed about 62,000 Chinese in the line opposite the 1st Corps, and 40,000 in front of 9th Corps,³⁰ their estimate of total enemy forces south of the Yalu, Chinese and North Korean, was 700,000. The U.N. Command had some 418,000 (including administrative elements) made up of 152,000 South Koreans, 245,000 Americans, 11,500 Commonwealth soldiers and a total of 10,000 from other U.N. countries.³¹

By 16 April elements of the three armies that made up the 1st Chinese Communist Field Army were identified in contact with 1st U.S. Corps.

This enemy formation had moved south from reserve north of P'yongyang. By 20 April a new group of three armies from the 2nd Chinese Field Army had concentrated south-east of Sariwon in western Korea. The battle weary troops from the 1st, 2nd and 5th North Korean Corps, and the 4th Chinese Field Army had been relieved by fresh troops from the 3rd Chinese Field Army. It was evident that the Communists were withdrawing all tired troops for re-organization, while building up equipment and fresh formations for a renewed offensive.

On 22 April, just before midnight, the offensive began. The greatest weight fell in the west, against the 1st and 9th U.S. Corps, both of which were ordered to withdraw.³² In the sector of the 9th Corps, the attack fell on two regiments of the 6th R.O.K. Division, in their positions seven or eight miles north of the sector in which the 27th Brigade had been relieved.³³ The movements and operations of this battered division during the next four days are not clearly recorded, but those developments which were reported to G.H.Q. in Tokyo,³⁴ are described below, since they concerned the subsequent operations of the 27th Brigade.

One of the unusual aspects of the operations in Korea was the lack of detailed information about the enemy, especially at the level at which most battles were fought. Even when the line was static (after the truce talks began) U.N. intelligence reports should have been liberally sprinkled with question marks. An army such as the Chinese fielded in 1951 and 1952, with primitive communications, unorthodox and elusive command organizations and superb camouflage techniques is difficult to locate; the U.N. Command for the most part was forced to fight for information. A battalion commander faced with a feature that looked as if it might be defended, would order a company to find out by climbing it. When serious opposition developed, the probing force would be withdrawn and a carefully prepared assault mounted with heavy air and artillery support.

The situation along the central portion of the line prior to the battle of Kap'yong is a classic example of the dilemma faced by U.N. Intelligence. For days Chinese and North Korean prisoners had been warning of an imminent offensive from the north but on the very eve of the actual Chinese assault, patrols from the 6th R.O.K. Division (which bore the brunt of the offensive in this area) were reported as probing north without contact against what was thought to be two regiments (the 350th and the 351st) of the 117th Chinese Division.³⁵

Three days later, with the Chinese offensive gouging great gaps in the U.N. line, the units of 6th R.O.K. Division were being encircled by unknown enemy formations; the 350th and 351st had evidently shifted east to attack the 1st U.S. Marine Division. By the 26th the advancing Chinese were identified as being from the 60th Division, a formation of the Third Field Army, which had been thought to be somewhere north-west of P'yonggang. This division was able to move south across the North Korean

countryside for many miles undetected, form up in battle formation, and then plunge south for days unidentified. Weather and ground were not the only factors that made Korea a difficult battleground.³⁶

The first shock of the attack hurled the two R.O.K. regiments some 10 miles south, where, in the early hours of 23 April, they were reported as having established positions some three miles south of the line on which the 27th Brigade had been relieved. A further retreat of eight miles followed. A third R.O.K. regiment, which had been in reserve, joined this retreat after an abortive move north to assist the other two. By 7:30 p.m. the South Koreans had halted this withdrawal and had begun to move back to positions some four miles north.³⁷ Here they appear to have been put to complete rout and sent streaming down the Kap'yong valley.³⁸ The New Zealanders extricated their guns and withdrew to the 27th Brigade area, accompanied by an American 105-mm self-propelled battery which had also been supporting the South Koreans.

Had the 27th Brigade's reserve location been selected with some such eventuality in mind as this rout of the 6th R.O.K. Division, it could not have been better chosen as a place to hold open an escape route. The area lay in the valley of the Kap'yong river, north-west of its junction with the Pukhan and immediately north of the town of Kap'yong. At this point the valley was 3,000 yards wide, but to the north the hills on either side converged, and the valley, thus narrowed, turned north-east for four miles. The river that flowed down this stretch in three sweeping curves, was dominated by Hill 677 on the west and Hill 504 on the east. Opposite Hill 504, the valley turned sharply north-west for three miles. At this bend, where an unnamed stream entered the Kap'yong from the north-east, the valley was dominated by a ridge running north-east from the village of Somok-tong. As the Kap'yong valley turned north-west, it ran across the north-east face of the lower slopes of Hill 677, which thus dominated both arms of the valley. In addition, the north-west arm was dominated by Hill 794 almost due north across the river from Hill 677. Between these two hills, the valley narrowed sharply, and then opened again as it continued to its head, some ten miles to the north-west. Although continuous crest lines ran west from Hill 677 and east from Hill 504, connecting in both cases with north-south crest lines and furnishing an avenue of approach to both hills, the hills, if held, effectively controlled all entrances to and exits from the valley of the Kap'yong river.

This was the area in which the 27th Brigade was ordered to hold open a route along which the troops of the 6th R.O.K. Division could withdraw. The Middlesex, with three companies, were given the high ground in the vicinity of Hill 794; the Australians, with Company "A" of the 72nd U.S. Heavy Tank Battalion attached were to cover the area north and east of the bend in the river, in positions extending to Hill 504. The Patricias were to hold the steep scrub-covered hill that was named 677, and Lieutenant-

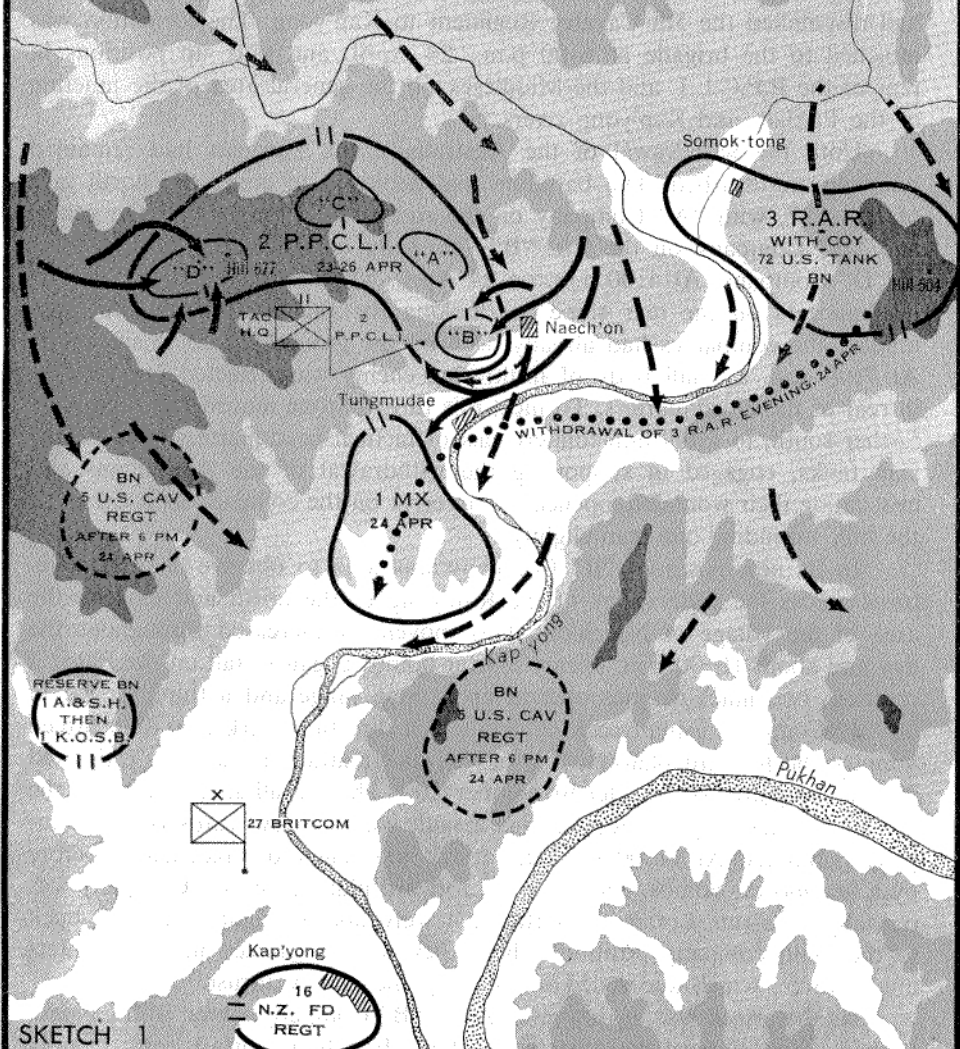
THE ACTION AT KAP'YONG 24-25 APRIL 1951

Kap'yong

Hill 794



Attacks against 27 British Commonwealth
Brigade front 24 April
Attacks against 2 P.P.C.L.I. night 24-25 April ————
Contours indicated by layer tints, 100, 200, 400 metres



SKETCH 1

Colonel Stone, fully recovered from his bout with smallpox (which had been partially defeated by his Fort Lewis vaccination), arrived back in time to conduct a reconnaissance of the new position with his company commanders.

The Australians were the first to be attacked. They had deployed in their positions by 8:00 p.m., 23 April, and two hours later, as the last remnants of the 6th R.O.K. Division were streaming by in disorder, two companies on the ridge running north-east from the village of Somok-tong were heavily engaged. The Australians on the ridge beat off the enemy attacks, and the Chinese then diverted their main effort to the Australian companies holding the high ground leading to Hill 504. These attacks continued throughout then night and by 9:00 a.m. 24 April had penetrated as far as battalion headquarters. Brigadier Burke realized that the Australians could not hope to hold out another night and ordered them to withdraw through the Middlesex position. At 5:30 p.m. under cover of smoke and high explosive from the New Zealand guns the withdrawal began.³⁹ But the Chinese infiltration continued, and contact was not easily broken. The Australians' Commanding Officer was forced to relinquish control to his company commanders, with orders to bring out their troops as best they could. Battalion Headquarters moved to a position within the area held by the Middlesex, who had withdrawn from their exposed position on Hill 794 and taken a stand on the high ground within the southern-most of the three curves of the Kap'yong river. The tanks of Company "A" made eleven trips from the former Australian position to evacuate the wounded, a task which they completed by 2:00 p.m. The Australian casualties totalled 155.

Meanwhile, the 1st U.S. Cavalry Division, which was in Army reserve, had dispatched the 5th Cavalry Regiment to Kap'yong. The formation was attached to the brigade at 6:00 p.m., 24 April, and took up positions in rear of the P.P.C.L.I. and the Middlesex, in the general area of the junction of the Pukhan and Kap'yong rivers.⁴⁰

Until the withdrawal of the Australians, the Patricias had remained relatively undisturbed. The battalion had deployed to cover, the north face of Hill 677, with "A" Company on the right, "C" Company in the centre and "D" Company on the left. "B" Company occupied a salient in front of "D" Company. At 4:00 a.m. on 24 April, when Stone set up his tactical headquarters on the rear slope overlooking the thatched village of Tung-mudae, the companies had already been on the ground for some six hours. At 7:00 a.m. a small body of infiltrating enemy was detected immediately in rear of the Headquarters. To meet this threat, Stone moved "B" Company farther south, to a hill immediately east of, tactical headquarters. The American tanks, engaged in supporting the withdrawal of the Australians and evacuating their wounded, opened fire in error on the company as it occupied the hill, wounding one man slightly.

In its new position, "B" Company was able to observe enemy move-

ment across the wide valley of the Kap'young to the north and east, in the area of the village of Naech'on. This movement increased throughout the day and about 10:00 p.m. enemy mortar bombs began to fall on the Patricia position, two machine-guns opened up at long range and a third ranged in on "B" Company using tracer, evidently as a direction marker. Within fifteen minutes the forward platoon, No. 6, was under attack by a force estimated by the company commander to number 200. The battalion mortars and the company machine-guns stopped this assault within a few yards of the company perimeter. At 11:00 p.m. the attack was renewed, preceded as before by a few mortar bombs. This time the forward platoon of "B" Company was partially over-run, but most of the men were able to fight their way back to the main company position, where they were organized into a counterattack force, which succeeded in stopping the enemy thrust.

As the attack was in progress against "B" Company, about 100 Chinese probed at the tactical headquarters and the battalion mortars from a gully in the rear of the position. Major Lilley has recorded his impression of this attack:

The probe against battalion headquarters was a well organized and well executed attack in strength which I estimated at that time to be between one and two companies and which "B" Company was powerless to stop as it came in through our back door. It was a heartening sight to see the battalion 81-mm mortars firing at their shortest range (200 yards) together with their 50 calibre machine-guns which literally blew the Chinese back down the ravine.⁴¹

Shortly afterwards a larger body of enemy was caught in a heavy concentration of artillery fire as it forded the Kap'young. The Patricias on the hill saw them clearly in the moonlight as they broke and fled. The Canadians counted 71 Chinese dead on the river banks next morning. During these attacks on "B" Company, Private W. R. Mitchell, a Bren gunner, distinguished himself by the skill and resolution which he displayed in performing his fire tasks. From the moment the first attacks came in, Mitchell was at work with his Bren and was largely responsible for repulsing the enemy attacking No. 6 platoon. He was wounded in the chest early in the battle but after having the wound dressed he continued to fight, firing from the hip and moving from fire trench to fire trench as the enemy pressed towards platoon headquarters, until he was again wounded. The second wound did nothing to deter him and he continued to fight for the rest of the night. In the words of the recommendation "At daylight Private Mitchell could hardly stand for loss of blood." He was evacuated by helicopter and subsequently awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal.

By 2:00 a.m. every weapon in the battalion was firing on the Chinese and it became apparent that the attack on "B" Company and Battalion Headquarters – savage though it had been – was only diversionary. "D" Company, in its exposed position to the north-west, was attacked by large numbers of the enemy from two sides and the waves of Chinese succeeded

in infiltrating the area in strength. This action is best described by quoting from the report of Captain J. G. W. Mills, the company commander:

Shortly after last light we heard an amazingly large volume of small arms fire from the direction of Tac HQ and B positions. This fire finally subsided until we could hear only the occasional burst. At approximately 0110 hours we received word, via the wireless, from Lieutenant Levy, 10 platoon commander, that Corporal Clouthier had reported the enemy were assembled in the saddle known as FOX III. [An artillery fire task code-word.] Immediately we received this word, we heard a Bren gun from 10, platoon open fire. I called for fire task FOX III. Levy asked the MMG in 12 platoon positions to open fire on the enemy.

The machine gunners immediately fired on the enemy with such deadly accuracy that the enemy stopped his main attack on 10 platoon. The enemy then directed his main assault against the MMG thus relieving the pressure on 10 platoon. The enemy in their attack against the 10 platoon feature used machine guns and mortars to cover their assault. The enemy then attacked across the small saddle overrunning one section of 12 platoon and the MMG. This was accomplished by sheer weight of numbers. The machine gun continued firing until the crew was completely overrun. Four men from the 12 platoon section which was protecting the MMG post were able to disengage and make their way over to 10 platoon positions where they carried on the fire fight. They reported that the two machine-gunners had been killed at their post. Also two Koreans, who comprised part of the MMG section, were able to make their way to 10 platoon positions. The enemy having gained possession of our MMG endeavoured to use it but 10 platoon covered the gun and the position with LMG fire by Pte Baxter and rendered the MMG useless. Sgt Holligan reported that the enemy were building up in the area known as fire task ABLE 1. We asked for fire on FOX III and ABLE I, as this seemed to be the main line of approach.

At this critical moment Captain Mills requested the artillery to lay down defensive fire on top of his position and after two hours succeeded in stemming the enemy's advance. Undeterred by these reverses, the enemy persisted in his attacks, but was driven off each time by artillery fire. At last, with the approach of daylight, the pressure subsided, and "D" Company was able to re-establish itself in its previous position. Captain Mills was awarded the Military Cross for his bravery in this action. Private K. F. Barwise of "C" Company was awarded the Military Medal for the courage he displayed during the reoccupation of the position, in particular for his single-handed recapture of the medium machine-gun.

By contrast with the night, the daylight hours of 25 April were quiet. The 2nd P.P.C L.I. held its lonely hill and although subjected to heavy fire, it remained free from attack. The battalion was, however, cut off from the rest of the brigade – the supply route to the rear was held by the enemy – and the ammunition reserves and emergency rations had been depleted. Failing normal supply, Stone requested an air drop. The message had to go up the chain of command and across to a base in Japan but at 10:30 a.m., only six hours after the request was made, four C119 aircraft dropped the right proportions of British and American ammunition and a supply of rations. Only four parachutes fell outside the battalion area. At 2:00 patrols from "B" Company reported the road clear, and Stone requested that addi-

tional supplies be brought up by vehicle as soon as possible.

By late afternoon of the 25th, the area was quiet, and the battalion was able to take stock of the situation. It had maintained its positions intact, and these positions covered the ground vital to the defence of the brigade area. In addition, its relatively light casualties of 10 killed and 23 wounded⁴² testified to the skill with which the position had been organized and defended. Lieutenant-Colonel Stone's outstanding leadership during this action led to the award of a second bar to his Distinguished Service Order.

In reviewing this battle, the Intelligence staff at U.N. Command estimated that two Chinese regiments (about 6,000 men) had attacked the 27th Brigade. The Patricias and their supporting artillery had inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy during their share of the fighting: on "B" Company's front alone, 51 dead Chinese were counted. There is no doubt that the stand at Kap'yong stopped the Chinese advance in this sector of the front; for the rest of the offensive the enemy sought elsewhere for tactical gains.

Some explanation of the high Chinese casualties, as opposed to the U.N. losses, seems in order. Major Lilley summarizes the reasons as he saw them

The Chinese telegraphed the direction and timing of their attacks by using MMG tracer ammunition for direction, sounding bugles as signals to form up on their start line and for their assault. This gave company and platoon commanders time to bring down accurate artillery, mortar and machine-gun fire on them.

Before attacking in strength the Chinese did not accurately locate our defensive positions by patrolling nor did they give accurate artillery and mortar supporting fire to their troops.

The steep gradients to our positions forced the Chinese to use a monkey-run attitude: in their final assault; although rifle fire in the darkness was not too effective at such small targets, grenades trundled down the hills had a devastating effect.

Rocket launchers were used in an anti-personnel role and proved deadly.

The Chinese appeared to be well trained and disciplined but lacked initiative. Only on orders would their squads fire their weapons or throw grenades.

Their consistent attacks en masse on obvious approaches in an attempt to overwhelm our positions by sheer weight of numbers presented ideal targets for our artillery, mortars and machine-guns.

The gallant stand of the Australians and Canadians at Kap'yong was later recognized by the American government with awards of Distinguished Unit Citations. "A" Company, 72nd U.S. Heavy Tank Battalion was also included, for the support it had given during the operation.⁴³

The British units of the 27th Brigade had now been in Korea for nearly a year and Commonwealth rotation policy called for annual replacement. On 23 April the Argylls had been relieved by the 1st Battalion, The King's Own Scottish Borderers and on 25 April, at the conclusion of the action at Kap'yong, Brigade Headquarters was itself relieved by a new

staff from Hong Kong named Headquarters 28th British Commonwealth Brigade.⁴⁴ The new commander was Brigadier G. Taylor, who, like Brigadier Coad, had served in Hong Kong prior to his appointment.

The Chinese Offensive is Halted

On 26 April, a battalion of the 1st U.S. Cavalry Division took over the positions of the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. and with the rest of the brigade the Patricias moved south-west, to an area north of the junction of the Chojong and Pukhan rivers near the village of Nongol. From Nongol the Chojong valley runs generally north on a course parallel to that of the Kap'yong, and ten miles west of it. The 24th U.S. Division, which had been on the left of the 6th R.O.K. Division, had been conducting a withdrawal on an axis parallel to that of the South Korean formation.⁴⁵

In its later stages, this withdrawal followed the Chojong river, and the positions of the 28th Brigade were sited to cover the southern end of the route, at the point where it turned south-west down the valley of the Pukhan. On 27 April, Eighth Army moved the boundary between the 1st and the 9th U.S. Corps west, placed the 24th U.S. Division under operational control of the 9th Corps and gave it control of the 28th Brigade and the 6th R.O.K. Division.⁴⁶ The brigade moved again on the same day, and established positions south of the junction of the Kuun and Pukhan rivers, covering the withdrawal of the 24th Division down the Pukhan. Next day the brigade came once more under direct control of the 9th Corps and moved to a reserve area near Yangpyong 30 miles due east of Seoul where it remained until the end of April. On 1 May it came under operational control of the 24th Division again,⁴⁷ and relieved its 19th Regimental Combat Team in positions on the Han river near Tokso-ri, 10 miles due east of Seoul.

By 1 May the enemy offensive had ended and the withdrawal of Eighth U.S. Army had stopped. The front line, in comparison with that of 22 April, had changed noticeably. Before the Chinese offensive it had followed the south bank of the Imjin to the point where the river turns sharply north at its junction with the Hantan. Here the line rose to the area of Yonch'on, and then ran east to the coast at Taep'o-ri. On 1 May, the fronts of the 1st and 9th Corps lay 40 miles south of Yonch'on. In the Seoul area, a semi-circle of defensive positions had been occupied north of the city, with each end resting on the Han river. To the east of Seoul, the line ran to the south bank of the Han, cutting off the tip of a sweeping northward loop in the river. To the right of this loop the line ran due east and then north-east to Sabangu. From Sabangu it continued to rise north-east to positions on the coast immediately north of Yangyang.⁴⁸

In the 1st Corps, the 1st R.O.K. Division had completed a withdrawal from positions south of the Imjin to the western sector of the defensive line

north of Seoul. To its right, the 1st Cavalry Division held positions in the line astride the Seoul-Uijongbu road. The 25th Division had retreated from positions on the Uijongbu-Kumhwa road approximately 20 miles north of the 38th parallel to a sector east of the 1st Cavalry Division, its area including the territory within the northward loop of the Han east of Seoul. The 29th Independent Infantry Brigade Group, having fought a most gallant defensive action in the area of the Imjin-Hantan junction, in which the Gloucester Regiment particularly distinguished itself, had retreated to positions on the Kimpo peninsula. The 3rd U.S. Infantry Division was in reserve, having been roughly used by the enemy during its withdrawal from the Yonch'on area, before being replaced by the 1st Cavalry Division.⁴⁹

The boundary between the 1st and 9th Corps crossed the Han at the tip of the northward loop. In the 9th Corps sector, the 24th Division was on the left. The Division had ended its withdrawal from positions east of the Uijongbu-Kumhwa road by deploying on both sides of the Pukhan river, north of its junction with the Han. Within its sector, the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. was on the extreme left, in the area of Tokso-ri and just east of the tip of the northward loop. The 6th R.O.K. Division lay to the right of the 24th Division, the South Korean formation having apparently recovered sufficiently from its defeat west of Hwach'on to enter the line again. The 1st Marine Division, on the right of the 9th Corps, held a line running north-east to the boundary with the 10th Corps immediately east of Sabangu. On completion of the withdrawal, comparative quiet settled over the front. This Chinese offensive had been anticipated and as a result the U.N. superiority in materiel was used to decisive advantage. By the end of April the attacks in the centre and west had petered out as the Chinese were forced to recoil along their spent supply lines.

General Van Fleet began at once to plan for a return to the "Kansas" line, while the 1st and 9th Corps dug, mined and wired their positions against a possible resumption of the Chinese offensive. To the north, the Chinese shifted their forces east, in a move which proved to be preparatory to a blow at the eastern end of the line. On 10 May Lieutenant-Colonel Stone returned to Canada on compassionate grounds (his daughter was seriously ill) and Major Tighe again assumed acting command of the 2nd Patricias. Meanwhile, the 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group, its training ended, its role decided, and its embarkation at Seattle behind it, drew closer to the uncomfortable shores of Korea.

CHAPTER VII

THE SPECIAL FORCE IN FORT LEWIS AND THE ARMY IN CANADA

Changes in the 25th Brigade

WHEN THE 2nd Patricias sailed away to Korea in the autumn of 1950, it had been replaced in the 25th Brigade order of battle by a new unit: on 30 November the 3rd P.P.C.L.I. was authorized, two weeks after the decision was taken to send its predecessor abroad. Its organization, delayed until the departure of the 2nd Battalion, took place in Fort Lewis, and its Commanding Officer was Lieutenant-Colonel G. C. Corbould who had been in charge of the Brigade Reinforcement Group. The junior officers and rank and file were drawn from the P.P.C.L.I. reinforcement company and from the "stream" that had remained in Canada with the 1st Battalion. The senior officers and warrant officers were collected from across Canada wherever they could be extracted from Active Force units.¹

On 9 December the Minister of National Defence announced plans for three more units. By this time it seemed clear that the brigade would not go to Korea and the large pool of reinforcements that had been recruited to support it in battle became a problem. The solution was to break up the Reinforcement Group and create two infantry training battalions which would operate initially in Fort Lewis on a reduced establishment. The two new units were designated as 3rd Battalions of the Royal Canadian Regiment (Lieutenant-Colonel K. L. Campbell) and the Royal 22e Régiment (Lieutenant-Colonel H. Tellier). A few days later, "G" Battery, R.C.H.A. (Major M. L. A. Chabot) was also organized, to train artillery replacements.² This greatly relieved the load on the parent units in the Active Force, which were now able to resume the training the Korean crisis had interrupted.

Training for Battle

Fort Lewis, the home station since 1946 of the 2nd U.S. Infantry Division, is fifteen miles from Olympia, in the State of Washington. It is a large camp, 1,00,000 acres in extent, and contains accommodation and essential civilian services for a population of 50,000. The Canadians were assigned to the barracks, mess-halls and canteens of the North Post.³

The small arms ranges, training areas and battle indoctrination areas in the camp were more than adequate for the needs of the brigade; a very

large proportion of them had been made available to the Canadians.⁴ It was found later, however, that the ground of some training areas was hardly varied enough: to be entirely satisfactory, and the numerous peace-time safety restrictions on the use of live ammunition proved a handicap. In addition, the constant rain which is a winter feature of this coastal region (which would have been useful in hardening trained troops) interfered, to some extent, with the stage of training required by the Canadians.⁵

The restrictions on the use of live ammunition in the heavier weapons were overcome by dispatching the anti-tank squadron, the artillery regiment and the infantry anti-tank platoons to the ranges at Yakima, 80 miles east, for firing practice. The 2nd R.C.H.A. went as a unit, while the armoured squadron and the anti-tank platoons sent troops and sections in succession.⁶ The R.C.H.A. had succeeded in reaching the level of regimental training before leaving Camp Shilo, and now, the gaps left by the Canoe River disaster filled, it began six weeks of fire and movement exercises. The ranges at Yakima were ideal for this purpose: there were miles of rolling hills and deep valleys which resembled Korean conditions. Lieutenant-Colonel Bailey requested authority to expend some 13,000 rounds of 25-pounder ammunition during the Fort Lewis and Yakima training and this rather large expenditure was to prove invaluable in preparing the regiment for Korean operations.⁷

One unexpected problem that hampered training was a shortage of vehicles. The purchase of U.S. trucks and half-tracks had been completed in November and the vehicles duly delivered to Fort Lewis. A proportion had been turned over to units for training while the remainder were held, processed for overseas, in readiness for embarkation. The effect of the Chinese intervention in Korea however, quickly made itself felt in Fort Lewis, for on 1 December Brigadier Rockingham was informed by the camp authorities that the Canadian priority had been lowered; the brigade was directed to turn back over 400 trucks and half-tracks to the U.S. Army. When telephoned in Ottawa, the V.C.G.S. confirmed the news while emphasizing that it was only temporary. Most of the vehicles processed for overseas were turned back and 41 had to be withdrawn from units to make up the total. Other shortages that were uncovered were in the nuisance category. Orderly room staffs suffered from a lack of stationery and ink; machine tools in the workshop were found to be dependent on direct current outlets; and none of the American mortars which had been promised were ever delivered to Fort Lewis in time for training.*⁸

Inevitably, under these conditions, the training programme got off to a rather slow start,¹⁰ but good progress was reported by Brigadier Rockingham on 1 January 1951.¹¹ The artillery in Yakima had progressed to regi-

*The 2nd R. 22e R. had received six 81-mm mortars in Valcartier, and trained with these in Fort Lewis.⁹

mental shoots and the other units of the brigade were also nearing collective training. There was much to learn and as the first weeks of 1951 sped past there were exercises covering every feature of operations, from battle procedures to communications, by night and by day. Units moved out of their barracks and into the rain-soaked countryside of the training areas to harden the troops and accustom them to doing without cover. In general, the timetable was met and by mid-February, the 25th Brigade was fully involved in the ingenious live firing exercise which Brigadier Rockingham had devised to round off the training.

The “*Ignes Bellum*” series, despite the dubious Latin of its title, was a well run and very successful training operation. Though followed by two other exercises, it represented the culmination of the brigade’s training programme. The exercise situation created for Phase I was an infantry company in the advance, supported by an allotment of weapons from the support company and a battery of field artillery. Two platoon attacks followed by a company attack were required. Each infantry company in the brigade was put through this exercise during the period 5 to 12 February. Phase II, which took place from 14 to 20 February, was a battalion attack followed by consolidation on the objective. Each battalion was supported by the full weight of the guns of the 2nd R.C.H.A., a troop from the armoured squadron, a troop of field engineers and a detachment from the signal squadron. Phase III, held on 7 March, was an attack in three phases by the whole brigade. Live ammunition was used throughout all phases of the exercise, both by “enemy” and “own” troops, and the exercise was controlled from observation towers along the route.

“*Ignes Bellum*” was followed by “*Scramble*”, an exercise in rapid movement covering each of the operations of war, but weather conditions were so bad that Brigadier Rockingham was forced to terminate the exercise at midnight on 11 March. The Fort Lewis training programme ended with a sand table exercise – “*Finale*” – on 30-31 March, to teach the conduct of the withdrawal.¹²

Expansion of the Canadian Army August 1950–April 1951

While the 25th Brigade trained in Fort Lewis, the rest of Canada’s army was expanding. In July 1950 the Canadian Army (Active Force) had a strength of 20,369, made up of 2,645 officers, 105 nursing sisters and 17,619 other ranks. One year later its strength was 42,622, but the ratio of officers to other ranks had dropped sharply. In June 1951, while the other rank strength had doubled to 38,824, the officers had only increased 1,024 and the number of nursing sisters had remained much the same at 129.¹³ This kind of expansion was beset with many problems, not the least of which was a general lowering of efficiency and discipline. There was an

inevitable shortage of trained leaders, from company commanders to lance-corporals. The creation of the Special Force, moreover, had skimmed off from civil life the bulk of those veterans who were willing or able to re-enlist.

The new roles also forced a re-examination of the equipment situation and as a result, the Army embarked on an extensive re-equipping and modernizing programme.¹⁴ Major changes resulted from Lieutenant-General Foulkes plan to switch from British to American patterns. (See page 37 above.) From cook-stoves and bath-trailers to howitzers and rocket-launchers Canadian units were to be supplied with U.S. style equipment. In April 1951 it was also decided to strengthen Canada's anti-aircraft defences British 3.7-inch guns were to be scrapped in favour of American 90-mm guns with the T-333 radar and fire control system.

The principle of adopting U.S. equipment, which had largely been confined to tanks in the Second World War, had first been introduced into the Canadian Army as far back as 1945 when it was decided to equip the Canadian Army Pacific Force with everything American except uniforms.¹⁵ There was, however, no plan for this policy to become general throughout the Army at this time. The situation was somewhat changed by a recommendation of the 57th meeting of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence (P.J.B.D.) held in November 1946. Their recommendation, approved by the Cabinet on 16 January 1947, stated in part that there was to be: "Encouragement of common designs and standards in arms, equipment, organization, methods of training and new developments. As certain United Kingdom standards have long been in use in Canada, no radical change is contemplated or practicable and the application of this principle will be gradual."

Even gradual application was almost impossible; U.S. laws allowed only equipment which had been declared surplus to American needs to be made available to Canada. In December 1948 the P.J.B.D. recommended that American law be changed to allow direct Canadian purchase in the United States, but it was not until the emergence of NATO and the necessity for increased mutual aid that the American government took any concrete action. In September 1949 Congress passed the Mutual Defence Assistance Act which made Canadian purchases possible and also allowed for American procurement in Canada for transfer to third parties in order to maintain the trade balance between the two countries.¹⁶ As mentioned above, this programme was not seriously implemented until 1950 when increased commitments made re-equipping necessary.

The Cost Expansion

In the initial planning for the 25th Brigade, a strength of 235 officers and 4,800 men had been used for purposes of calculation. The reinforce-

ment pool considered necessary to sustain this force numbered 140 officers and 2,000 men. One year's pay and allowances for a force of that size was estimated to be \$16,460,000. In addition, the average cost per man per year for rations, travelling expenses, clothing and personal equipment was estimated at \$610.¹⁷ The Director of Army Budget, in a memorandum to the C.G.S. on 18 August, estimated that \$13,800,000 in additional funds would be required for the fiscal year 1950-51 to cover the extra expense incurred as a result of the Special Force.¹⁸ The training of the Special Force in Fort Lewis was an additional expense.¹⁹

The NATO agreements brought added expense. At his weekly conference on 4 October 1950, the C.G.S. stated that it would probably be necessary to reorganize the Army in order to provide a contingent for service in Europe. While commenting at length on such a force he said:

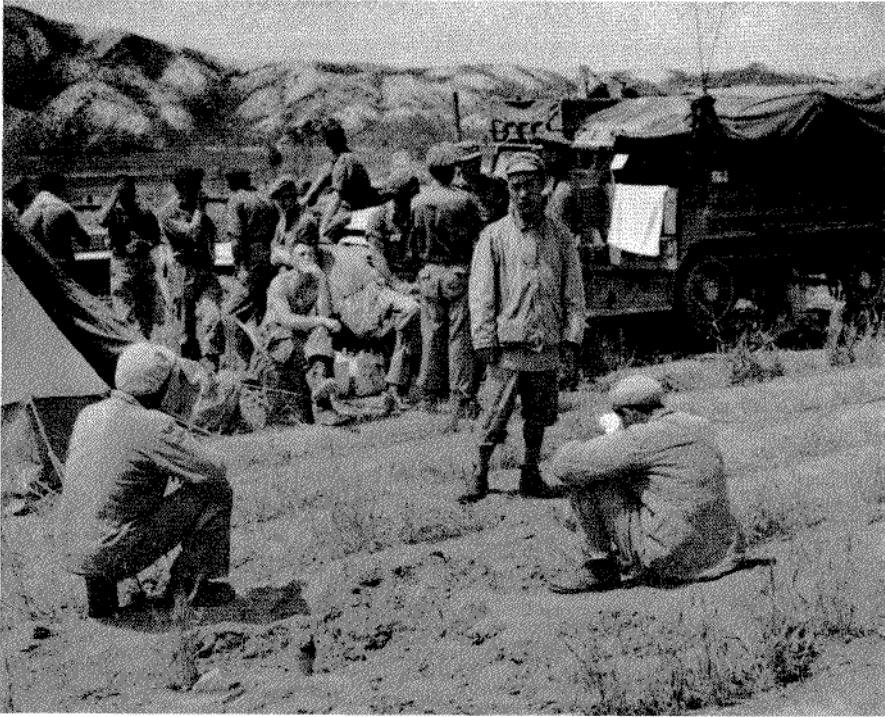
... [It] would be initially organized as a training formation and would not require the full administrative support needed for operational efficiency.²⁰

At this early stage in the planning, the size of the formation being considered had been an American type division with the United States providing the necessary administrative services. The 25th Brigade had not yet been earmarked for Korea and it was felt that with this as a nucleus, enough field units could be drawn from the Active Force to field a division at approximately 75 per cent of full strength.²¹ But on 7 December the C.G.S. advised that the Cabinet Defence Committee had approved one-third of a division from Canada for the Integrated Force in Europe, subject to Parliamentary approval. Furthermore, the contingent was not necessarily to be patterned on an American but integrated into either a U.S. or British division which would be responsible for maintenance of the Canadian element.²²

The first official announcement of Canada's intention to provide a contingent for service with the integrated force came in the Speech from the Throne on 30 January 1951:

Progress has been made in the organization of an integrated force in Europe under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.... You will be asked early in the session to authorize Canadian participation in the integrated force as part of our programme for national defence and security.²³

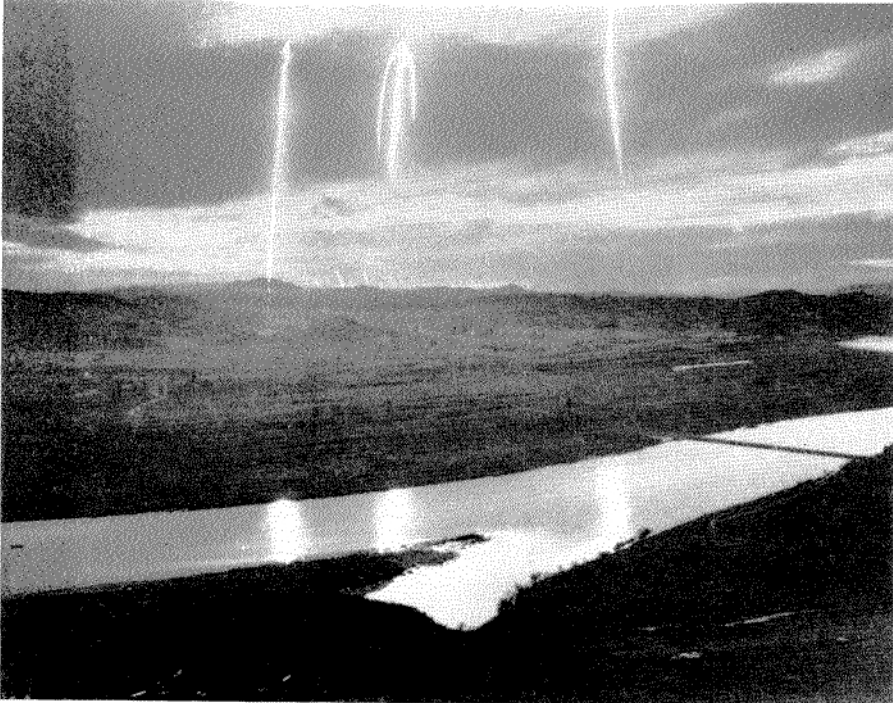
On 1 February Lieutenant-General Foulkes was appointed to the new post of Chairman, Canadian Chiefs of Staff and Lieutenant-General. G. G. Simonds succeeded him as C.G.S. In his conference of 7 March the new C.G.S. pointed out that "he had strongly advised against fulfilling the commitment [to the integrated force] until such time as it was certain that the reinforcements required in Korea could be maintained". He also stated that the Minister had agreed to the announcement of a Regimental Combat Team for service with the Integrated Force in Europe about 1 April 1951.



P. Plastow

SOME OF THE ENEMY

Canadians look over dispirited Chinese prisoners taken by the 25th Brigade during the advance to the 38th parallel in May 1951.



W.H. Olson

THE BATTLEFIELD AT NIGHT ON THE IMJIN



P.J. Tomelin

THE 25TH BRIGADE JOINS THE COMMONWEALTH DIVISION

Front row, left to right: Major-General A.J.H. Cassels; Mr. A.R. Menzies, Head of Canadian Liaison Mission, Tokyo; Brigadier J.M. Rockingham. Back row: Major D.H. Rochester, 57 Field Squadron R.C.E.; Lieutenant-Colonel J.A. Dextraze, 2nd R. 22e R.; Lieutenant-Colonel R.A. Keane, 2nd R.C.R.; Lieutenant-Colonel J.R. Stone, 2nd P.P.C.L.I. Inset: Lieutenant-Colonel A.J.B. Bailey, 2nd R.C.H.A.

He stressed that “the principle of there being ‘one Army’ had been accepted for the formation of future elements”.²⁴

The decision to dispatch the 25th Infantry Brigade to Korea (below, page 87) presented the necessity of the “raising of a new force to send to Europe together with essential replacements to provide for wastage and for rotation.” This would require 10,000 troops to provide a brigade group of 6,000 and a replacement pool of 4,000.²⁵ The plan under consideration was to raise a brigade by activating companies from a number of Reserve Force units and the C.G.S. stressed that only those units which were known to be strong and which had a good chance of bringing a large number of soldiers with them should be considered.²⁶ The C.G.S. felt that the earliest a decision could be expected from the Cabinet Defence Committee on the Integrated Force would be 6-7 April 1951. He then proposed to call a meeting of General Officers and the Conference of Defence Associations and secure their agreement. Before the Minister made a public announcement, all was to be in readiness so as to avoid unnecessary delay or a repetition of the difficulties experienced with the Special Force.²⁷

The cost of the force for Europe in 1951-52 would be approximately \$72,600,000. Of this amount, \$23,000,000 for equipment and stores had already been included in the financial estimates.²⁸

The Brigade for Europe is Formed

On 14 April the C.G.S. sent out an instruction to all G.O.Cs. which contained detailed instructions for the mobilization of a brigade group for the integrated force. This information was classified Top Secret and was to be used only for high level planning at the various command headquarters.²⁹ On 30 April, in Ottawa, the conference with G.O.Cs. and the Executive of the Conference of Defence Associations was held and the details of the plan decided on. The public announcement came on 4 May when the Honourable Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence, stated in the House:

... developments in Korea resulted in the decision to send the 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group to Korea. The situation in Korea does not warrant any assumption that that formation could be released to form part of the integrated force within a reasonable period.

Keeping our force in Korea up to strength will obviously continue to be the No. 1 Army priority so long as any of our troops are engaged in actual combat.

We are further expanding the Canadian Army...

This expansion will include the formation of an additional Canadian Army brigade ... to be known as the 27th Canadian infantry brigade group, [which] will be recruited around the framework of some of our famous reserve army units.³⁰

On the morning of 7 May, three days after the official announcement, full page advertisements appeared in daily newspapers across Canada. At the end of the first month of recruiting 6,671 officers and men had been

enlisted, this total being approximately the basic requirement for the latest overseas brigade.³¹

The Attempted Conversion from Special to Active Force

By the spring of 1951, therefore, important changes had taken place in the strength and dispositions, actual and proposed, of the Active Forces of Canada. The nation which, prior to the invasion of South Korea, had not maintained an expeditionary force in being as a matter of policy, now had a brigade group proffered to the United Nations in Korea and three destroyers, an infantry battalion and a squadron of transport aircraft actually serving in the Far East; in addition Canada had agreed to participate in the Integrated Force under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.³²

These changes had an effect on the status, within the Canadian Army, of the Special Force. Where formerly it had been regarded as a temporary addition, to be disbanded as soon as need for it had passed; it now came to be considered a more or less permanent element of the Active Force, in the sense that the time when it could safely be disbanded appeared to be well in the future. However, the short terms of service under which the troops of the Force had enlisted made assumption of this new role difficult. On 23 August 1950, enlistment under Special Force terms of service had been reduced to limited quotas and by December the scheme had been discontinued entirely except in Quebec Command.³³ Re-engagement of these soldiers under Active Force regulations was required if the Special Force units were to consist of the professional soldiers, willing to serve for comparatively long periods, who were needed to give practical effect to the Force's new position.³⁴ The special benefits conferred by the original terms of service presented a problem which was solved by the simple expedient of requiring those who re-engaged to surrender them.

In execution, the conversion plan did not enjoy a great success. Although Brigadier Rockingham set an example by transferring to the Active Force himself, less than a third of the rank and file followed his lead. Peacetime soldiering had little appeal for these men. By the end of July, 1952, only 2,711 had joined the Active Force from the Special Force.³⁵

A year later, on 24 August 1953, a return was prepared which showed something of what had happened to General Foulke's "soldiers of fortune". Of the 10,308 men who had enlisted as eighteen month Special Force volunteers, 2,823 had joined the Active Force and 456 were still listed as deserters. By May 1954, four more had been re-engaged as regular soldiers, and all Special Force absentees had been released.³⁶

The Future of the 25th Brigade

There was a good deal of uncertainty, during the early part of the 25th Brigade's stay in Fort Lewis, as to where it would ultimately be sent. On 8 January, as the Eighth Army in Korea, its withdrawal ended, made plans for a renewed offensive of its own, the C.G.S. informed Brigadier Rockingham during a telephone conversation that the possibility of the brigade going to Korea could not be ruled out, but that if it did not go, it would be sent to Europe in April. The next day the members of the Advance Water Party arrived back, to be absorbed into their respective units (see above, page 53.)³⁷ On 2 February the Minister of National Defence phoned the Brigadier to say that while there was now little likelihood of the brigade going to Korea, it was possible it might go to Europe in March.³⁸ As late as 12 February 1951, with the U.N. counter-offensive well under way, the Q.M.G., Brigadier J. D. B. Smith, was writing memoranda to the C.G.S. on preliminary planning being carried out in his Branch for movement of the group to Europe as the Canadian contribution to the Integrated Force.³⁹ On 21 February, however, when the Minister of National Defence finally announced the decision to send the remainder of the Brigade to join the 2nd P.P.C.L.I., in Korea, his statement made no mention of these plans.

... Yesterday inquiry was received from the unified command of the United Nations forces in Korea as to whether training of the balance ... was complete, and if so, could it be sent to form part of the United Nations Forces in Korea?

This training is almost complete, and the government agreed today that the other elements in the Brigade group should shortly proceed to Korea and join the second battalion of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry there.⁴⁰

The warning order for the move was dated 19 March 1951.⁴¹ Signal, medical and ordnance units which had remained in Canada were to move to Fort Lewis and sail with the brigade. The greater part of the units listed in the Order of Battle of the C.A.S.F. were also to leave, with the exception of a movement control unit, a medical liaison detachment and the base post office, which had duties requiring them to remain in North America. No. 26 Field Surgical Team and No. 25 Field Dressing Station were to remain in Canada pending completion of their organization. No. 20 Field Dental Detachment, less five clinics which were to accompany the brigade, was likewise to remain in Canada.* A base signal troop and a field punishment camp, which had been added to the Order of Battle, were to sail with the brigade. The Reinforcement Group was reconstituted by transferring officers, N.C.Os. and men back from the 3rd Battalions, and Lieutenant-Colonel Corbould resumed his earlier command. "G" Battery

*No. 25 F.D.S. sailed on 8 July 1951,⁴² the Dental Detachment on 21 August 1951.⁴³ Nothing was done about completing the organization of No. 26 F.S.T., and in February of 1952 a notation that it was to remain at nil strength was published in an edition of the Command and Location List.

R.C.H.A., the truncated 3rd Battalions, and the Dental Detachment were to be brigaded in a new formation called 25 Canadian Infantry Brigade Replacement Group (a training formation) under the command of Brigadier W. J. McGill. The group would move to Wainwright, Alberta, when the brigade had left, and train reinforcements for Korea.⁴⁴

March and April were crowded with ceremonial parades and the inevitable rehearsals that precede them. Lieutenant-General Simonds visited Fort Lewis from 18 to 21 March and on the 19th took the salute at a brigade march past. Following his departure, Brigadier Rockingham left on his flying visit to Korea and Japan, returning on 3 April.⁴⁵ The Governor General of Canada, Field Marshal Viscount Alexander of Tunis, and Mr. Claxton paid a farewell visit on 14 and 15 April, watched the brigade parade, inspected guards of honour to the sound of 21-gun salutes, presented a Canadian red ensign to the Brigadier and attended a large dinner.⁴⁶ The brigade sailed on 19, 20 and 21 April, in three ships, the *Marine Adder*, the *General Edwin P. Patrick* and the *President Jackson*.⁴⁷

Prior to his departure, Army Headquarters issued the Brigadier a much-revised Command (see Appendix "B"). In its original form the final paragraph had permitted Brigadier Rockingham direct reference to the C.G.S. should orders be given to commit Canadian troops in an operation which, in his opinion, would involve unnecessarily large casualties. The Brigadier was given a special code to use in any direct reference which might be necessary, and Lieutenant-General Simonds held the only other copy. The original wording was amended, however, at the instance of the Judge Advocate General, to a more general statement in order to avoid objection on the part of the U.N. Command.⁴⁸

In the seventh paragraph of this instruction the principle of the separate entity of Canadian forces, which had been developed during the First World War and used extensively in terms of reference for Canadian commanders in the Second, was once again involved. In the Second World War, the G.O.C.-in-C. First Canadian Army, Lieutenant-General H. D. G. Crerar, was given the right to appeal direct to the Canadian Government in his terms of reference if "The Officer Commanding the Combined Force ... failed to take appropriate action" in any matter of controversy. General Crerar was also given authority to decide whether tasks given him were a "practical operation of war." The desirability of "unified Canadian control" was also stressed and Crerar was directed to discourage any long detachment of Canadian formations from the First Canadian Army except under the condition of "the urgent requirements of military operations."⁴⁹ Rockingham's directive was far more specific than this. He was told that "The principle of the separate entity of the Canadian Force... shall at all times be maintained."

The War Diary of the brigade headquarters summed up the long sea journey:

In all the voyage was not too unpleasant. The ship was equipped to carry just over 2700 troop passengers, and there were about 2600 aboard. Officers were in bunks three high, nine officers to a cabin. Warrant Officers and Staff Sergeants were given cabins holding about twenty-four each. Other ranks were placed in compartments holding about 400 each and bunked four high.

A training programme was organized, and every man attended six periods of hygiene and health indoctrination run by Medical Officers of Canadian Field Ambulance. In addition all troops participated in one period of Physical Training daily, except on two occasions: when inclement weather precluded the use of the sun deck. Small arms training was also carried out and some lectures were given in spite of the extreme lack of space for that type of activity.

When the weather permitted a movie was shown after dark on the sun deck.

Fort Lewis in Retrospect

With the coming of spring and the departure of the 25th Brigade, the reasons for training Canadian troops on American soil had been removed. On 7 May 1951, the main party of the Replacement Group began its move back to Canada where it settled in at Wainwright Camp, Alberta.⁵⁰ Its task was to rebuild its depleted ranks to full strength, while training reinforcements for the units in Korea. By the end of May, the last "rear parties" had turned back the stores, barracks and military furniture that the Canadians had been issued by the U.S. Army and dispersed to their parent units across Canada. Khaki berets, the heavy battle dress and the Canadian shoulder patches disappeared from the streets and bars of Tacoma, Olympia and Seattle. North Post became American again.

It remains to sum up the Fort Lewis experiment and attempt to assess its value. The biggest gain, and the one that comes most rapidly to mind, was the time that was saved in the training of the 25th Brigade. There can be no doubt that the force left for the Far East better prepared for war than if the training had been attempted in a Canadian winter. This was the overriding consideration that had prompted General Foulkes to propose such a scheme in the first place, and although there were times during the ensuing months when the decision must have seemed hasty, the abrupt change of U.N. fortunes in Korea dispelled all doubts. But there were other, less obvious benefits. For one thing, the volunteer soldiers of the Special Force were largely separated, by the move to the Pacific coast of the United States, from those personal problems that tend to inhibit such a group from wholehearted response to a training challenge. With Canada behind them, and battles looming in Korea, an atmosphere of urgency could be, and was, maintained.

Training together in a foreign country, in the midst of a watchful "rival" army, also produced a feeling of unanimity and participation that quickly generated high morale and esprit de corps.

By the time the 25th Brigade left for Korea it had even acquired traditions of its own and special ways of going about things that set it apart and

gave it a unique atmosphere.

The experience of mixing and co-operating with American troops was also a valuable dividend, for when the 25th Brigade arrived in Korea, it was accustomed to American methods and did not have to learn on the battlefield, where differences become exaggerated, and misunderstanding can be costly. The wholehearted co-operation of the U.S. military authorities in Fort Lewis quickly dispelled any feeling of strangeness the Canadians might have felt; indeed, the Special Force left Fort Lewis with many a wistful backward glance at the big bustling camp with its post exchanges, garrison clubs, inexpensive amenities, and bland climate.

It was, of course, a costly operation. The two and one half million dollars expended could have been used to "winterize" Canadian accommodation. There were several "moth-ball" wartime camps which only required this to make them usable and indeed, at least three were subsequently modernized to quarter Canada's expanding army. The timing of the Korean crisis, however, coming as it did to Canada in the autumn, ruled out such leisurely alternatives and in the event the benefits of the decision far outweighed the cost.

Before returning to Korea and the operations of the 25th Brigade, the total cost to Canada of her new army commitments can be summed up. The 1949-50 estimate for Army expenditure had been about \$148,000,000. In 1950-51 this was reduced by \$4,500,000. The Korean conflagration forced a large supplementary estimate, and by 31 March, nearly \$200,000,000 had actually been spent. Thereafter the figure grew each year until, in 1953, the Army was costing over \$500,000,000 annually.⁵¹ By way of comparison, the R.C.A.F.'s budget for 1952-53 was over \$760,000,000 and the R.C.N.'s \$260,000,000.

CHAPTER VIII

THE THIRD U.N. ADVANCE TO THE 38TH PARALLEL

The Arrival of the 25th Brigade

THE *Marine Adder* and the *General Patrick* docked at Pusan on 4 May 1951, and completed unloading on the following day.¹ On the 6th, at Kure, in Japan, the *President Jackson* landed No. 2 Canadian Administrative Unit, No. 25 Canadian Reinforcement Group and associated signals, movement control, postal and dental units.² Brigadier Rockingham met the troops who landed at Pusan. He had flown to Tokyo, arriving on the 26th, and had spent the interval in liaison visits with Brigadier Fleury, the U.N. Command in Tokyo, and the Headquarters of Eighth. U.S. Army in Taegu.³

The brigade's senior administrative staff officers had flown to Korea on 1 April 1951 to prepare the way for the main body. Major C. J. A. Hamilton, Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General, Major C. M. Whiticar, the Deputy Assistant Director of Supplies and Transport and Major D. H. George, the Brigade Signal Officer, arrived in Tokyo on 2 April and proceeded at once to Pusan, where they were met by Lieutenant-Colonel L. R. Crue.

Since no decision had been taken to form a Commonwealth Division it was assumed that, initially at any rate, the 25th Brigade would operate under American command and Major Hamilton proceeded to acquire from the U.S. authorities an empty prisoner-of-war camp some nine miles from Pusan and a prefabricated warehouse large enough to hold the brigade's maintenance stocks. It was well that he did so. The 120 days' maintenance that should have been delivered at Kure was unloaded in error at Pusan.* On 19 April the reconstituted Advance Water Party of 21 officers and 171 other ranks arrived and began the work of unloading the six cargo ships carrying the brigade's equipment, stores and vehicles.⁵ This involved unloading and de-preserving 1,500 vehicles and some 2,000 tons of stores.† Some 200 prisoners were used for two weeks to demolish the sand-bagged tower that dominated the camp, while Korean labour erected a tented camp within the enclosure.

*Major Hamilton recalls having difficulty maintaining his direct link with the Americans; the staff of the British base at Pusan laboured for some time under the misapprehension that the Canadians would, as a matter of course, come under their command.⁴

†According to the Brigade Historical Officer, the Port authorities at Seattle estimated that the 25th Brigade departed overseas with more stores and equipment than the U.S. 2nd and 24th Divisions combined.

On disembarkation, the units of the brigade group were transported to this camp, where they spent the next six days drawing stores and equipment, and removing the ocean voyage preservatives which had protected the stores from salt-water corrosion.⁶ During this time the front was quiet across the whole of the peninsula; no new operations had been mounted by either side since the collapse of the Chinese spring offensive.⁷ Brigadier Rockingham, took the opportunity to make a major change in the equipment of his force; the anti-tank squadron was converted into an armoured squadron, equipped with Sherman tanks. Previously, the unit's primary role had been the anti-tank defence of the brigade area; the squadron had been equipped with self-propelled M10 anti-tank guns, and trained in deployment for anti-tank defence. Brigadier Rockingham, however, had considered it necessary, while in Fort Lewis, for the infantry to train with tanks, and had ordered the squadron to conduct tank-infantry training, using its self-propelled guns for this purpose.⁸ On arrival in Korea, the Brigadier learned that while very few enemy tanks were being encountered, tank support for infantry was essential. In addition, he discovered that enemy tank-ambushing parties, for whose grenades the open turret of the M10 would provide a convenient receptacle, were active at the front, and even along the lines of communication. In view of these facts, he sought and obtained authority from Ottawa to re-equip the squadron. At the same time, the cumbersome 17-pounder anti-tank guns of the infantry were replaced by American 75-mm recoilless rifles.⁹

On 11 May, training exercise "Charley Horse" began. It was designed to harden the troops and practice them in the tactics and procedures to be followed during an attack in mountainous country. The two infantry battalions put their companies in turn through the exercise, which involved climbing the great hills surrounding Pusan's "K9" airfield. The last company of the 2nd R. 22e R. finished on Tuesday, 15 May¹⁰ and immediately afterwards the brigade began to move north, following the route of the 2nd R.C.H.A., which had preceded the formation in order to put its guns into action in support of the 28th British Commonwealth Infantry Brigade on the Han river.¹¹

The Move to the Front

The orders for the brigade's move provided that wheeled vehicles, carrying as many troops as possible, would move by road and that the remaining soldiers, with the tracked vehicles and the heavy engineer equipment, would travel by rail, in parties leaving on the 16th, 17th and 18th. Elements of the brigade going by road would also travel in three groups, the first leaving on 15 May and the other two on the 16th and 17th. The road to be followed was the main supply route via Pusan – Taegu – Taejon – Suwon; the concentration area lay near Kumnyangjangni, ten miles east of Suwon. The road move was expected to be completed on 19 May, but no

arrival time was given for the parties travelling by rail, for these troops would have to be transported by truck from the railhead at Suwon to the brigade concentration area.¹²

Had the front remained quiet the newly arrived Canadians would have had a good chance to get acclimatized before going into the line. Events, however, intervened. The first change in the situation occurred on the central and eastern sectors of the front, where a renewed Chinese offensive developed, beginning from normal contacts, and rapidly increasing in severity. The affected sector ran almost due north-east from a point 15 miles west of Hongch'on to the coast at Taepo-ri. This line was held by the 10th U.S. Corps, 3rd R.O.K. Corps and 1st R.O.K. Corps. The main weight of the push appears to have been directed against the 3rd R.O.K. Corps in the centre. This hapless formation, already roughly handled in a previous offensive, was this time smashed so completely that the front of the 10th Corps had to be extended to fill the gap. By 23 May the enemy had achieved his maximum gains and the new line ran west from Kangnung near the coast to Hajinbu-ri, from there north-west to the area of Chaun-ni whence it fell southwest to the 10th Corps left boundary at a point 10 miles north of Hongch'on.¹³

Except for the collapse of the South Korean divisions, the retreat was a reasonably orderly affair, each division withdrawing through blocking positions, behind a screen of mobile task forces charged with delaying the advancing enemy. The 3rd U.S. Infantry Division was taken from Army reserve in the Seoul area and placed under command of the 10th Corps, which deployed it on the right of the corps front. Here it conducted a withdrawal from positions north-west of Hajinbu-ri to positions immediately west of that centre. This reinforcement bolstered the most seriously threatened sector, taking under command such South Korean units as remained operational and filling a large part of the gap created by the disintegration of the 3rd R.O.K. Corps.

By 24 May, the Chinese attack had lost its momentum and the 10th Corps and the 1st R.O.K. Corps began to counter-attack in conjunction with the U.N. attack which had begun on the western end of the line.¹⁴ It was this advance in the west that really upset the timetable of the 25th Brigade. The attack began on 20 May, the morning after the last units of the brigade reached the concentration area, and instead of an initial period of static defence, the brigade found itself taking part in a general advance towards the 38th parallel.

The Eighth Army Fights Back Again

As was the case in the second movement of the U.N. forces toward the 38th parallel, the description of this third advance must follow actions well below Army level. The best information at hand is purely tactical: the daily reports on operations. A study of these situation reports justifies the

conclusion – or impression – that the advance was largely a matter of regimental groups moving forward abreast, with due regard for progress on the flanks. The majority of the actions recorded are advances to contact, followed by minor battles on regimental or, more frequently, battalion and company level. There were no corps or army battles for heavily defended lines, such as characterized the fighting on the comparable terrain of Italy during the Second World War, nor were there any sweeping manoeuvres, on divisional level or higher, to encircle enemy forces or seize vital centres of communication.

On the occasion of the second advance to the parallel, the United Nations had been more disposed to accept military stalemate and, to trust to negotiations than to expand the war in the hope of reaching a decision. Since that time, nothing had been done in the way of authorizing an expansion of the Korean War; the majority opinion in the United Nations still favoured stabilization of the military situation, and negotiation. The crisis caused by the recall of General MacArthur had been the occasion for a general re-statement of the aims of the intervention in Korea. President Truman, in a broadcast to the American people on 11 April, 1951, designed to forestall the proponents of all-out war, had said:

... by fighting a limited war in Korea, we have prevented aggression from succeeding and bringing on a general war. . . . We are trying to prevent a world war – not to start one.¹⁵

It remained for the Chief of Staff, United States Air Force, General Hoyt Vandenberg, to produce the most telling argument in support of this view. Speaking before the Senate Hearing that followed MacArthur's return to the United States, he stated simply, that the United States did not have the power to wage such a war.¹⁶ Thus the overall aim of the new operation was essentially to relieve pressure on the embattled central and eastern sectors, while preventing the Communist armies from recovering their strength and launching yet another massive offensive.

It is difficult to assess with authority the reaction of the enemy. The contacts recorded are those normally associated with a withdrawal and it appears, from the fact that the Eighth Army did not have to mount any major "set-piece" attacks, that the Chinese and North Koreans were prepared to surrender ground. However, the possibility that the enemy intended to hold further south than he actually did, and failed for lack of tanks, artillery and air support must be noted. The comparatively minor engagements which were fought do not necessarily indicate that the enemy's intention was to conduct a withdrawal. They might equally well indicate lack of power in the defence. Whatever the intention, the important fact is that he did not – or was not able to – impose more than a harassing and delaying effect, of a local nature, on the U.N. advance.

The tactics employed in the later stages of the Korean campaign cannot usefully be compared with those of the European campaigns of the

Second World War. Even the Italian theatre, mountainous though much of it was, offered far better highway systems. The first U.S. forces that took the offensive after the fall of Inch'on attempted European style advances, only to be confronted with the fact that the primitive nature of the country and the greater numbers of the Chinese enemy ruled this type of warfare out. Thereafter, tactical operations bore a strong resemblance to the British campaigns on the North-West Frontier of India in the nineteen thirties. The battlefield aim was no longer to "close with and destroy the enemy" but to force him back behind the mountain barriers along the 38th parallel, using manpower sparingly until the enemy showed irresolution in the face of the U.N. preponderance of materiel. With the forces available, this was the most that could be done, even if the U.N. had decided on a more aggressive policy.

The Chinese, on the other hand, still had as their aim the destruction of the forces opposed to them, but their chief asset, manpower, dominated their tactics. It was no part of their plan to occupy and defend South Korean "real-estate"; the defensive positions this would have entailed would merely have provided the U.N. with targets for their massive superiority in weaponry. Thus when a Chinese offensive failed to achieve its object, the tendency was to break contact and withdraw, while reinforcements and supplies were brought forward for another attempt. As a result, the nature of the U.N. operation, which was essentially a movement forward of regimental groups in line abreast against opposition which each group was able to overcome by itself (or in conjunction with its immediate flanking regiments) meant that the action in any one regimental sector resembled that which took place in other sectors. Consequently, a description of the action on the fronts manned by Canadian troops becomes, in extension, a description of the advance as a whole.

This strange battle was still in the future as the 25th Brigade crawled up the road towards Suwon and Kumyangjang-ni. Brigadier Rockingham had preceded the formation in order to acquaint himself with the task assigned to his brigade, and supervise the preparations for its reception. On Thursday, 17 May, he attended a briefing conference presided over by Lieutenant-General Van Fleet; Lieutenant-General Frank Milburn and Major-General W. F. Hoge, Commanding Generals of the 1st and 9th Corps respectively, also attended with the Commanders of the 3rd, 24th and 25th U.S. Infantry Divisions. The Army Commander stated that a full-scale enemy attack appeared to be developing on the central sector, and that he was ordering the 3rd Division to Wonju, as reserve for the 10th Corps. One of the formation's regiments, the 65th, was holding positions on the south bank of the Han river, in the loop south of Tokso-ri, and he proposed to have the 25th Brigade replace this regiment. He asked when the brigade would be ready and, on being told by Rockingham that the formation was still on the move, but could be deployed by last light on Sunday, the 20th,

he agreed to this timing.¹⁷

Difficulties with Headquarters

Subsequently, however, the Brigadier was ordered to commit the brigade by 9:00 a.m. on 19 May. When this order was received, the formation was still on the move, the 2nd R.C.R. being due in at 2.00 a.m., 19 May. The other units were at least two hours behind the R.C.R. In addition, the fighting men of the two battalions, who as we have seen were travelling by tram, had only their rifles and fifty rounds of ammunition with them. Their wireless sets, mortars, aircraft recognition panels, spare ammunition and so forth were being moved by road, and would have to be distributed to the units on arrival – and the time of this arrival was by no means certain. In view of this situation, Brigadier Rockingham protested the order, on the ground that his troops would not have sufficient time to prepare for action. Throughout the night, the Chiefs of Staff at Corps and Army continued to repeat the order, which the Brigadier continued to protest, suggesting at one stage that he was prepared to be relieved of his command rather than commit his troops before they were ready. Although he did not resort to his direct channel to the C.G.S. (page 90 above) on this occasion, he very nearly did so.¹⁸

In the event, the dispute did not come to a final issue, for on 19 May the plan for relief of the 65th Regiment by the 25th Brigade was cancelled, and Eighth Army placed the brigade under operational control of 1st U.S. Corps¹⁹, ordering it to a concentration area near Haech'on. There it was told to await final assignment of a task in the Corps offensive which was to commence at 5:30 a.m. on 21 May.²⁰

The Advance Continues 21 May–30 May

The general tactical situation of 1st Corps at the beginning of this attack did not differ materially from that which had existed on termination of the Chinese offensive in April. The Corps line ran generally 5 to 10 miles north of Seoul, but dipped south-east to its intersection with the boundary between it and 9th Corps at a point which was now north of the loop in the Han east of Seoul. The inter-corps boundary had been projected northeast from this junction, and the 1st Corps zone extended from the west coast to this boundary. Within the Corps zone, 1st R.O.K. Division was on the left, with, to the east, the 1st Cavalry Division and 25th Infantry Division. The 29th Independent Infantry Brigade Group still held positions on the Kimpo peninsula.²¹ The 25th Brigade, as we have seen, was in Corps reserve, under orders to concentrate in the Haech'on area and be prepared to support the advance of 1st Cavalry Division or 25th Division if the offensive went well.

By midnight of 23 May, the 1st Corps had made important gains. The

1st R.O.K. Division was in Munsan, the 1st Cavalry Division had advanced to a line three or four miles north of Uijongbu, and the 25th Division had conformed on its right, its front inclined to the south-east. To the east, the 9th Corps had made a similar advance and 10th Corps and 1st R.O.K. Corps had ceased their retreat and were to make advances next day.²² Thus, on 24 May, what had been a diversionary effort on the part of 1st and 9th U.S. Corps became a general Army “bounce-back” offensive, in which 10th Corps and 1st R.O.K. Corps joined.²³ In the sectors of 1st and 9th Corps three report lines were established. The northernmost of these – a familiar landmark, “Kansas” – ran from Munsan in the west to the point where the Seoul-Uijongbu-Yonch’on road crossed the 38th parallel. From this point it followed the parallel east.²⁴

On 24 May, the 25th Brigade was placed under command of the 25th Division, and moved from Haech’on to an assembly area north-east of Uijongbu, near Sunae-ri. The 10th Infantry Battalion Combat Team, Philippine Expeditionary Force to Korea, which had been placed under the command of the brigade, moved with it. Thus from the first, the Canadians experienced the novelty of a multi-national force. At the same time Lieutenant-Colonel Bailey and his gunners of the 2nd R.C.H.A. rejoined the Canadian brigade.²⁵

By midnight on 24 May, the 25th Division had advanced three or four miles further north, its left boundary generally parallel to the Seoul-Uijongbu-Yonch’on road, and approximately 5,000 yards east of it. Since it was the right-flanking division of 1st Corps, its right boundary fell on the inter-corps boundary previously described. Within this sector, the division was in the centre and the 24th R.C.T. on the right. The inter-regimental boundaries divided the division’s front into three approximately equal portions. In general, light opposition had been encountered, engagements on company level being most frequently reported.²⁶

The plan for the operations of the 25th Division on 25 May did not involve any important departures from those followed during the preceding days of the attack. The advance was to be continued through Phase Lines “Topeka”, “Quebec”, “Montreal” and “Kansas”. The 25th Brigade was to pass through the Turkish positions and “press attack aggressively . . . to Phase Line TOPEKA, prepared to continue the attack to Phase Line QUEBEC, MONTREAL and KANSAS on order”. The brigade was to “employ armour in vigorous thrusts to keep enemy off balance”, an admonition which occurred frequently in the Operation Instructions of the 25th Division.²⁷

25th Brigade in Action

To help in carrying out this instruction, the 25th Division provided Task Force “Dolvin”, named after its commander, composed of three com-

panies of a tank battalion, one infantry battalion, a company of engineers, a tactical air control party and a signals detachment.²⁸ The Task Force was to move from its assembly area not later than 7:30 a.m. on 25 May and “execute rapid Inf-Armoured thrust to seize and secure Objective ‘A’”²⁹ which it was to hold until a link-up had been effected by the main forces. Objective “A” lay on the 38th parallel, within the boundaries of the 25th Brigade, and the brigade was to follow the Task Force in its thrust to Line “Kansas”, there to establish strong defensive positions.³⁰ This device of sending a task force in advance of the infantry, presumably to shake up the enemy and hamper his withdrawal, which was widely employed across the front during the third advance on the parallel, had also been used during the second advance.

The valley of the P’och’on river ran up the brigade’s zone, and Brigadier Rockingham planned to move his Headquarters on the valley road, the 2nd R.C.R. clearing the heights on the left and the Royal 22e those on the right.³¹ Each battalion was to have a troop of tanks under command, and a detachment of engineers to accompany it. This, the brigade’s first operation, was given the code-name “Initiate”, and its resemblance to the methods of the 27th Brigade shows that the Canadians had picked up useful lessons from that experienced formation.

Starting somewhat later than was planned, the brigade moved off at 9:30 a.m. on 25 May, following Task Force “Dolvin”. No opposition was encountered until mid-afternoon, when the leading elements of Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. Keane’s 2nd R.C.R. were fired on by a small party of enemy on Hill 407. The Royal 22e also made contact during the day with a small force immediately north of Hill 329. At last light both battalions occupied tight defensive positions north of Changgo-ri. The advance continued a further 4,000 yards up: the valley next day. The R.C.R. on the left encountered some opposition, but the, Royal 22e only contacted stragglers and deserters. On 27 May the brigade established positions covering Line “Kansas”, after a further advance which was made without contact. The Canadians took over from Task Force “Dolvin” the following day, on high ground overlooking the 38th parallel in the area west of Samdalbat. The advance had covered nearly thirty miles of mountainous country. On the same day, a tank-infantry patrol from “C” Squadron, Lord Strathcona’s Horse (the title of the former anti-tank squadron, see above, page 94) and the Philippine Battalion moved forward six miles north of the parallel, but made no contact.³²

Operation “Followup”, an advance by the brigade north of the 38th parallel, began on 29 May, with the Philippine unit left and the Royal 22e right. It covered the route already reconnoitred by the patrol of the previous day, and halted near a burnt-out valley village that nestled at the foot of a formidable mountain barrier named Kakhul-bong. From this height came the first opposition since crossing the parallel. It would appear that the enemy’s time-table of withdrawal was being disrupted to a certain extent, for

tanks of "C" Squadron, which were moving on the left, discovered a large abandoned dump of gasoline and ammunition.³³

During this advance, some Chinese positions were inadvertently bypassed, with unexpected consequences to the Laundry and Bath platoon of the Brigade Ordnance Company. That energetic and devoted unit had been keeping pace with the advancing troops and on the afternoon of 28 May had set up shop some fifteen miles north of Uijongbu on a stream near the brigade centre line. The Officer Commanding, returning from a search for a new location, found his men standing guard over two Chinese soldiers whom they had flushed from a nearby Korean farmhouse. These were the first prisoners taken by the brigade. Three days later, the platoon captured three more Chinese and in the words of the platoon commander "it was rumoured at the time . . . that the poor fellows had heard that there was a laundry in the vicinity and had merely come in looking for a job."³⁴

The Attack on Chail-li

The advance was to be resumed on the 30th with the 2nd R.C.R. replacing the 2nd R. 22e R. on the right. Since Kakhul-bong dominated the R.C.R. axis of advance, a plan was made to put in a battalion attack on this feature, and the village of Chail-li that lay beyond it. Lieutenant-Colonel Keane ordered Major R. D. Medland's "A" Company to push rapidly up the road to the west of the hill and capture Chail-li; "B" Company (Major D. G. Duncan) was to cover the left flank by occupying positions on Hill 162, while "C" (Major J. F. Peterson) was given the task of capturing Hill 269, which lay between Chail-li and Hill 467.³⁵ The main assault, that on the twin peaks of Kakhul-bong, was assigned to "D" Company commanded by Major H. B. Boates.

In a driving rainstorm, "A", "B" and "C" Companies got on to their objectives with relative ease, but "D" Company, climbing the steep slopes of its objective, encountered resistance from troops markedly superior to the bedraggled specimens encountered earlier in the advance, and by 11:30 a.m. the Chinese began to react very strongly against the penetration of the R.C.R. "A" Company began to receive increasingly heavy small arms, mortar, artillery, and high-velocity, low-trajectory fire. No. 1 Platoon reported groups of enemy, estimated at company strength, marching south along the road towards Chail-li, and dispersing into the fields on either side of the road when the platoon opened fire. No. 2 Platoon, guarding the left flank, also reported that the enemy was infiltrating through the paddy fields around its position and opening fire at a range of 25 yards. Five or six enemy field pieces, and what "A" Company believed to be tanks, were spotted at this time. Despite the fire of battalion supporting weapons and the 2nd R.C.H.A., the enemy pressure continued to increase. At 1:00 p.m. the Chinese began to infiltrate on the right flank, and, with superb fieldcraft worked themselves towards the spur bordering the road on the southern

THE ACTION AT CHAIL-LI

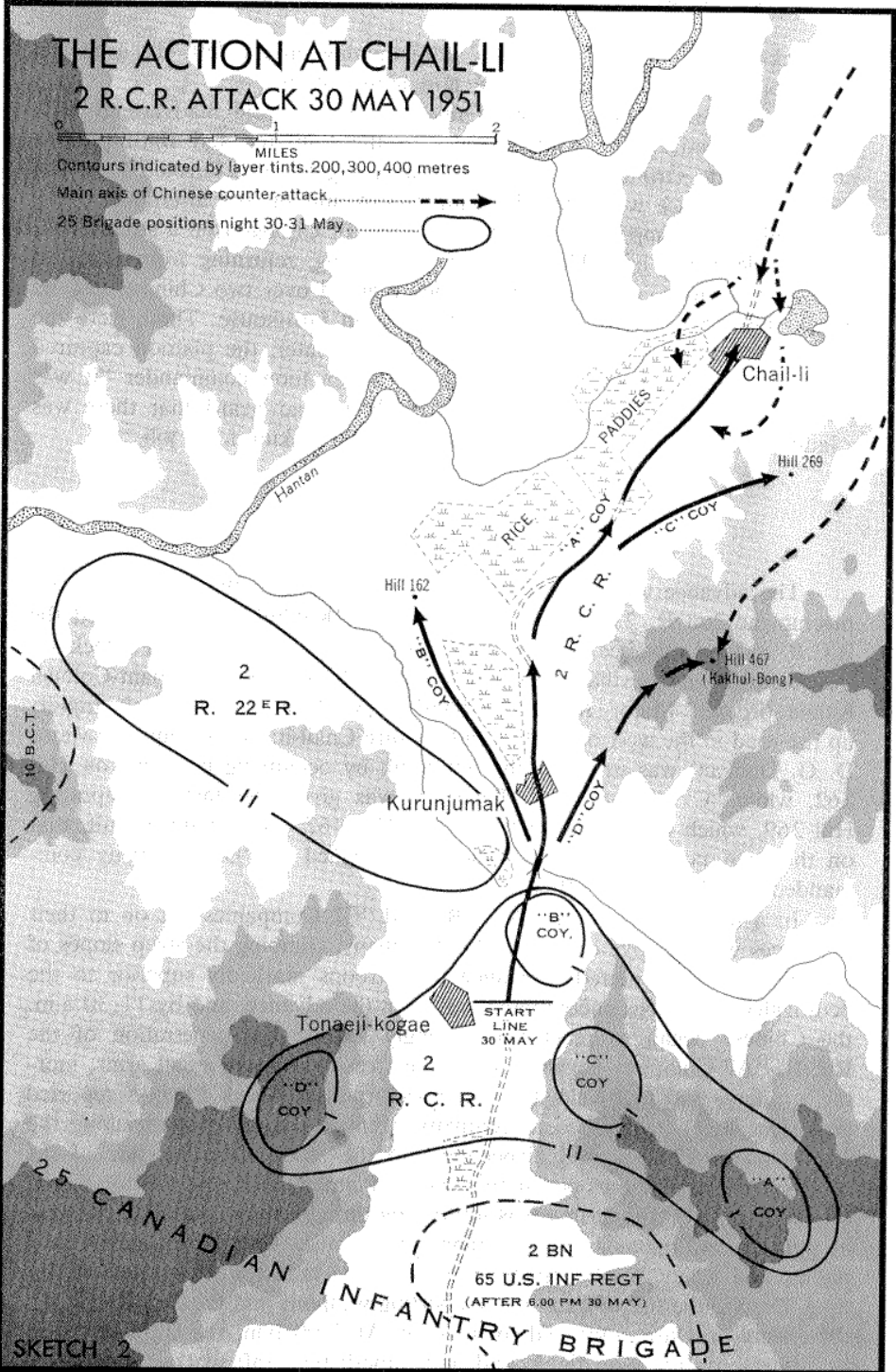
2 R.C.R. ATTACK 30 MAY 1951

0 1 2
MILES

Contours indicated by layer tints. 200, 300, 400 metres

Main axis of Chinese counter-attack

25 Brigade positions night 30-31 May



SKETCH 2

outskirts of the village. At first, due to the poor visibility, this movement on the flank of "A" Company was overlooked. According to Major Medland, the troops he saw were wearing ponchos and looked very much like Canadian troops. He took them to be some men of "C" Company, but as he could not raise "C" Company on the wireless, he could not determine otherwise. It was not until this flank erupted in a hail of small arms, mortar, and machine-gun fire, that he realized the Chinese were circling to his rear. The Canadians were beginning to experience the tactics that had bedevilled the Americans in earlier encounters.

Mortars, small arms, and machine-guns kept a steady fire on the defenders, and the company commander later reported he was positive that the enemy was using a Vickers machine-gun. Mortar fire began to fall behind the company, the pressure increased against No. 1 and No. 2 Platoon, and it became obvious that the Chinese were making every effort to surround and cut off the company.

During this period "C" Company, in and around Hill 269, played the frustrating role of a virtual bystander. By mid-day visibility was so restricted by rain and mist that it was very difficult to identify the troops in the valley. Consequently, although the movement around the flank of "A" Company could be seen, it was first believed to be "A" Company's own platoon. Once it was realized that these were Chinese, No. 8 Platoon engaged them with rifles and Brens, but this had no visible effect owing to the long range. At the same time a considerable number of Chinese could be seen coming from a village east of the valley reservoir towards Kakhul-bong. These were engaged by No. 7 and No. 8 Platoons, but again the distance was too great to have much effect. The company commander had been forced by the nature of the ground to place his troops in the immediate vicinity of Hill 269, and he did not have the men available to engage the flanking Chinese. This inability to cooperate was to have a decided effect on "D" Company's attempt to take Kakhul-bong.

This feature was the backbone of the Chinese defence, and step by step they resisted "D" Company's advance. No. 11 Platoon, which had swung over to the left flank, found that this had already been cleared by No. 10 Platoon in its advance along the main axis. The Chinese took every advantage of their extensive trench system which skirted the main ridges and ran back up the hill, using their camouflaged bunkers with great skill. Machine-gun and mortar fire increased with every yard, but the advance continued. By 11:30 a.m. the leading platoon had scaled and cleared the precipitous western peak and was dropping down into the draw leading to the main feature itself, some 300 yards distant.

But from the very top of this pinnacle a well placed enemy machinegun completely dominated the approaches. Artillery and mortar fire was brought down, the platoon commander of No. 11 Platoon ordered his 3.5 rocket launcher to fire against the lone machine-gun, but the stubborn defenders

could not be dislodged. The leading section worked itself to within 20 feet of the crest, but found it impossible to proceed further frontally. The platoon commander ordered a section to work around the right flank, and try to engage the position from the east ridge. The section however, went too far in the dense mist which swirled around the peak, and suddenly came upon a group of Chinese having lunch in a small valley behind the crest of Kakhul-bong. According to the section commander these troops were well-clothed, and appeared to be in high spirits and full of confidence. The section opened fire at close range, and returned to No. 11 Platoon to report it believed it had accounted for four or five of the enemy, including an officer.

Meanwhile, enemy mortar fire had become very heavy. Company Headquarters, located behind the west peak, received a direct hit, seriously wounding Major Boates. The commander of No. 10 Platoon took over and again attempted to knock out the machine gun, but without success. The only access to it was up a sheer rock face 20 feet high.³⁶

At Brigade Tactical Headquarters, Brigadier Rockingham was considering the situation. He did not find it promising. The brigade's advance had created a deep salient in the enemy lines; his units were left without protection on the flanks. On the right, the closest troops were 8,000 yards behind, while the forward line of the left-flanking unit was 7,000 yards back.³⁷ In addition, the R.C.R. attack was failing; "A" Company was in a fair way to being surrounded, "D" Company was pinned on the rocky slopes of Kakhul-bong, while "C" Company, between "A" and "D", had found that its fire could not reach the enemy moving against the other two companies. The Brigadier decided that it would be unwise to continue the attempt. He ordered Keane to withdraw to an organized defensive position. As a further measure of security, the 1st Corps placed the 2nd Battalion of the 65th U.S. Infantry Regiment under operational control of the brigade, and Rockingham ordered the battalion to occupy positions on the feature south of the 2nd R.C.R.³⁸

Beginning at 2:30 p.m. the encircled companies of the R.C.R. began to fight their way back. "A" Company, under cover of artillery and tank-fire, withdrew from Chail-li, and with the wounded protected from the fire on the right by the hulls of the tanks, slowly worked its way back along the road. "B" and "C" Companies began to move back at the same time, behind a screen of fire laid down by the 2nd R.C.H.A. "D" Company, now under Lieutenant J. A. Cowan's command, began at the same time to withdraw from Kakhul-bong, with the Chinese pressing closely. The excellent work done by the mortar officer and the artillery observer, however, ensured that the withdrawal was made with a minimum of casualties.

The return of the battalion was a long and painful business, but by 7:00 p.m. the last company had pulled clear of the hills, and by 9:00 p.m. the unit had reached its new position. The R.C.R. left equipment behind in this action. The medium machine-gun section with "C" Company lost the

majority of its vehicles – two jeeps and three trailers – and three tanks of “C” Squadron that had bogged down had to be temporarily abandoned. Fortunately, it was possible, with the assistance of men from the R. 22e R., to recover two of the tanks that evening and the third the following day. The 2nd Royal Canadian Regiment lost six N.C.Os. and men killed in the day’s fighting and two officers and 23 men wounded.

During the attack on “A” Company in Chail-li, Gunner K. W. Wishart of “D” Battery, 2nd R.C.H.A., a driver operator for a forward observation officer with the company, stood by his set under very heavy enemy fire, transmitting orders for the artillery concentrations which broke up the enemy attack and subsequently covered the company’s withdrawal from its dangerous position. For his steadiness, he was awarded the Military Medal. In the same action, Private J. A. Sargent of “A” Company distinguished himself by the skill and courage which he displayed in handling a Bren gun, while covering the company’s withdrawal. He also received the Military Medal.

In retrospect, the attempt to conquer Kakhul-bong by outflanking it appears to have been, in Korea, a tactical error. The feature was too massive to be taken by a lone battalion using such measures and the experience gained from mobile operations in North-West Europe, which the Americans had been forced to abandon, proved to be equally irrelevant to Canadians in their new environment.

The action at Chail-li was the brigade’s first serious engagement since it had been committed to action. There is no doubt that the violent enemy reaction in this locality was caused by the threat to his lines of communication across the Ch’orwon Plain. Eighth Army intelligence reports for the period describe this area as a main supply centre for materials from Manchuria, as well as being the hub of the enemy’s lateral communications across this sector of the Korean peninsula.

One has to climb Kakhul-bong to realize why the Chinese attached such importance to the feature. From the top one can look south almost to the 38th Parallel, and any movement on the main road is quite obvious. To the north, the valley of the Hantan lies in panoramic view, and the Ch’orwon Plain, 20 miles distant, can be clearly seen. The Chinese on the top could see every movement of the 2nd R.C.R., and were able to plan their defences accordingly.

During the last day of May, the brigade maintained its positions and patrolled, under command of the 3rd U.S. Infantry Division. This formation had been released from control of 10th Corps in the central sector on the 30th and had moved back to the sector of 1st Corps, where it was employed on the axis previously covered by the 25th Division.³⁹ On the 1st of June the brigade, less the 2nd R. 22e R. and 2nd R.C.H.A., was relieved by the 65th U.S. Infantry Regiment which took the Philippine battalion under command. On relief, the brigade moved into reserve positions some miles

in the rear, while the R. 22e R. held positions on the right flank of the 65th Infantry Regiment and the 2nd R.C.H.A. remained in support of that formation.⁴⁰ Thus was completed the “bleeding” of the 25th Brigade. It had acquitted itself adequately in its first fighting, and the casualties of 6 killed and 54 wounded, which were incurred between 28 and 30 May, testified to the sharp engagements which had been fought.⁴¹

Meanwhile, to the right of 1st Corps, 9th Corps had also been advancing. Its movement north, like that of 1st Corps, began on 20 May from the general line of the positions it had held since the latter part of April, when, its retreat before the Chinese offensive ended. This line ran from the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. positions in the Tokso-ri area eastward to a point five miles west of Hongch'on.* The left boundary inclined north-east, and the right boundary curved north-west, so that the Corps was advancing into a narrowing front. Within the Corps sector the 24th Infantry Division was deployed on the left flank, with the 2nd and 6th R.O.K. Divisions in the centre and the 7th Infantry Division roughly equalling that held by the 2nd and 6th R.O.K. Divisions together.⁴³

At the start of the 9th Corps attack on 20 May, the 24th Division had deployed the 28th Brigade and the 19th, 5th and 21st R.C.Ts. from left to right across its front. The 28th Brigade was pinched out early in the offensive; maintaining positions extending east from the P.P.C.L.I. area near Chinbo-li.⁴⁴ Here the brigade remained, while the rest of the Corps passed on north. Little had occurred to distinguish this advance from its previous operations. There had been a succession of similar hills to climb, similar resistance which vanished during the night, similar delays while troops on the flanks conformed.⁴⁵ The Patricias were given a comparatively minor role in this advance – possibly because of their impending departure to join the 25th Brigade – and on 27 May the battalion was withdrawn from 28th Brigade, moving due south to Sambri-ri on the north bank of the Han, where it came under the Canadian command it had left over six months before to participate in an “occupation” of Korea.⁴⁶

The Commonwealth Forces Concentrate

During the last days of May and the first days of June, the three Commonwealth brigades were gathered into one area, in preparation for the forming of 1st Commonwealth Division. (See below, p. 119). The concentration area selected lay approximately nine miles due south of the junction of the Imjin and Hantan rivers. The 29th Independent Infantry Brigade Group moved from its positions on the Kimpo peninsula on 28 May, and the 28th British Commonwealth Infantry Brigade joined it on the following day from the 9th Corps area.⁴⁷ By 3 June, the 25th Canadian Infantry Bri-

*The boundary had been moved east, closer to Hongch'on on 18 May⁴², presumably to permit 10th Corps to concentrate its forces further to the east against the Chinese offensive.

gade Group had joined the concentration, coming into Corps reserve about 15 miles south of the Imjin, north-east of Uijongbu.

By 3 June, General Van Fleet had advanced the front line of the Eighth U.S. Army almost to the position which it was to occupy during the remainder of the operations in Korea. On the 1st Corps front, the 1st R.O.K. Division was on the south bank of the Imjin in the area of Munson. The remainder of the south bank, to the point where the river curved north at its junction with the Hantan, was held by the 29th and 28th Brigades. At the Imjin-Hantan junction, the line ran north along the east bank of the Imjin to a point roughly opposite Yonch'on, whence it swung east. The 1st Cavalry Division was in this sector, its elements on the Imjin facing west while those in the area of Yonch'on faced west and north. The 3rd U.S. Infantry Division lay to the east and faced generally north, as did the 25th U.S. Infantry Division on the right of the 1st Corps front. The 9th and 10th Corps continued the line practically due east, but the Capital Division of 1st R.O.K. Corps had pushed a salient up the east coast almost to Chodo-ri.⁴⁸

South of the Imjin-Hantan junction, in the Commonwealth concentration area lay the 25th Brigade. From 2 June until the 18th the brigade remained as the reserve of 1st Corps.⁴⁹ During this period, Brigadier Rockingham and his commanding officers prepared plans covering the defensive tasks assigned by 1st Corps and maintained the routine normal to a formation in reserve.⁵⁰

Fighting on the Imjin, June 1951

One of the more important features on the 1st Corps front was the salient created by the Imjin river. At its junction with the Hantan, the Imjin swings sharply south-west, and the 1st Corps advance had flowed around the curve. The tip of the salient lay dangerously close to the supply route from Seoul through Uijongbu to the Yonch'on area. Ultimately, Operations "Minden" and "Commando" removed it but during June the United Nations Command was content with dominating the salient's area by patrolling. This was done by establishing "patrol bases" across the Imjin, from which patrols ranged through the salient.⁵¹ These patrol bases were defended areas of battalion or brigade size set up in no-man's-land at various distances ahead of the forward defended localities; it had become a regular practice to establish them whenever a formation was on the defensive, and in the Imjin area it was a particularly useful device.

On 2 June, the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. was again attached to 28th Brigade⁵² for the purpose of establishing a patrol base in the tip of the salient. Initially, it had been planned to cross from south to north in the sector of 28th Brigade, but a flash flood made a crossing in this direction impracticable, and the crossing was ultimately made on the 6th, in the Cavalry Division sector.⁵³

The crossing place was at a ferry site and "D" Company occupied an

area covering the western approach to this crossing. "A" and "C" Companies occupied a position based on Hill 194. The remainder of the unit stayed on the east side of the river.⁵⁴ This battalion position, somewhat unusual when judged by Staff College standards, covered an area 1,400 yards by 1,000 yards, and was divided in the middle by a river which had already demonstrated its capacity to become a formidable obstacle with great suddenness. Major Tighe's task was to hold a bridgehead on the western bank, and to provide a firm base from which patrols furnished by other units could probe into the unknown territory to the west of the Imjin.

On 9 June, Brigadier G. Taylor, the Commander of the 28th Brigade, visited the area and stated that he felt "an all out Chinese attack is due sometime between the 12th and 15th June on the 1st Corps front with the probability that the 28th Brigade occupying the hinge position would be called upon to bear the brunt of the attack".⁵⁵ In spite of this dire prediction, the enemy reaction was limited to mortar fire, although the patrols established the existence of Chinese positions a few thousand yards away.⁵⁶ On 11 June, the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. was replaced by the Royal 22e, and moved back to the brigade concentration area. Lieutenant-Colonel Dextraze and his men remained in the position until 19 June, and their experiences generally resembled the Patricias',⁵⁷ although concern over the possibility of a Chinese attack prompted Brigadier Taylor, on the 18th, to pull the battalion back about 4,000 yards from its advanced positions for a period of some twelve hours.⁵⁸

By 18 June, the eastern end of the 1st Corps front had advanced to the southern outskirts of Ch'orwon. To the west, the Corps front lay on the Imjin, from that river's junction with the Han eastward to its junction with the Hantan. From this latter junction the line ran north along the east bank of the Imjin to an area roughly opposite Yonch'on whence it curved northeast to Ch'orwon, forming the line "Wyoming", and then continued due east to positions immediately south of Kumhwa. The boundary between 1st and 9th Corps conformed generally to the eastern end of the 1st Corps front. The 1st R.O.K. Corps, on the east coast, still maintained a salient to Chodo-ri.⁵⁹

Patrolling at Ch'orwon

On 18 June, Eighth Army placed the 25th Brigade under command of the 1st Cavalry Division, where it was given the task of relieving the 28th R.O.K. Regiment and the 65th Infantry Regiment of the 3rd U.S. Division on the Ch'orwon end of "Wyoming". The 1st Cavalry Division's eastern boundary had been moved further to the right to include ground formerly held by these elements of 3rd Division.⁶⁰ The brigade left its area south of the Imjin, where it had been in reserve since the first part of June, and was in position on "Wyoming" by noon on the 19th.⁶¹ The Royal 22e joined it here on the same day from its "patrol base" on the Imjin, and the formation

was complete again.⁶² Referring to the move of the main body of the brigade, Brigadier Rockingham later wrote:

There was an incident of considerable interest during this manoeuvre. I was ordered to move the Brigade at approximately 2300 hours, 17 June, but was unable to get a route on which to move the twenty-five odd miles. Nor could I get I Corps or either of the divisions concerned to give me an assembly area into which to put my troops when I arrived at the other end. What actually happened was that I started, accompanied by my commanding officers to reconnoitre the route and the assembly area, without leaving any instructions with the main body of the Brigade as to its move. As we reached each bridge or cross-road and found it was suitable, I would transmit orders to the Brigade Major over the wireless, giving him the route which the Brigade was to follow. I had ordered them to move about two hours behind us and our relative positions were maintained until we reached the portion of the line in the 3rd Division area where we were to take over. A very hasty reconnaissance was made by myself and the COs who then returned to the side of the road and led their units straight into the line.

This was only possible because the enemy was not close to our positions and because of the excellent communications which existed in the Brigade. We had also considerable experience in movement by this time and such a move would not be recommended for a less experienced formation.⁶³

Once the brigade was in position, its front stretched for 7,500 yards south-west from the western outskirts of Ch'orwon, which were included in its sector.⁶⁴ To the right, the positions of the 3rd Division carried the line generally due east.⁶⁵ To the left, the 1st Cavalry Division's positions continued from "Wyoming" south-west to the general area of Yonch'on, and from there south, along the east bank of the Imjin, to the Imjin-Hantan junction. The division had three patrol bases west of the forward defended localities at Yongjong-ni, Pam-Kogae and Chura-dong.⁶⁶ Deep patrols into no-man's land were the order of the day, and the 25th Brigade was soon to join in this activity.

Within the brigade's sector, the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. was on the left and the 2nd R.C.R. on the right, with the 2nd R. 22e R. in reserve in rear of the R.C.R.⁶⁷ The Patricias' position lay on the southern edge of a narrow valley, dominated by high ground on the far side. The Royal Canadian Regiment was on high ground overlooking the town of Ch'orwon on the southern edge of the Ch'orwon plain, which stretched away to the northeast. Ch'orwon was the first town of any size that the brigade had come across since crossing the Han, and in June 1951 it had not been entirely demolished. It was crowded with refugees and on 20 June "a South Korean aircraft equipped with loudspeaker flew over the area, broadcasting an appeal to civilians to get off the roads and remain in the hills".⁶⁸ The brigade faced north-west, but its boundaries ran north and south. Within these boundaries, ahead of the forward defended localities, extended an area of hills interspersed with narrow valleys whose floors were quite level.

On 21 June, the R.C.R. provided the infantry element of the first deep patrol into no-man's-land. The objective was some 12 miles north of the R.C.R. positions and H Hour was 6:30 a.m. The patrol was composed of a

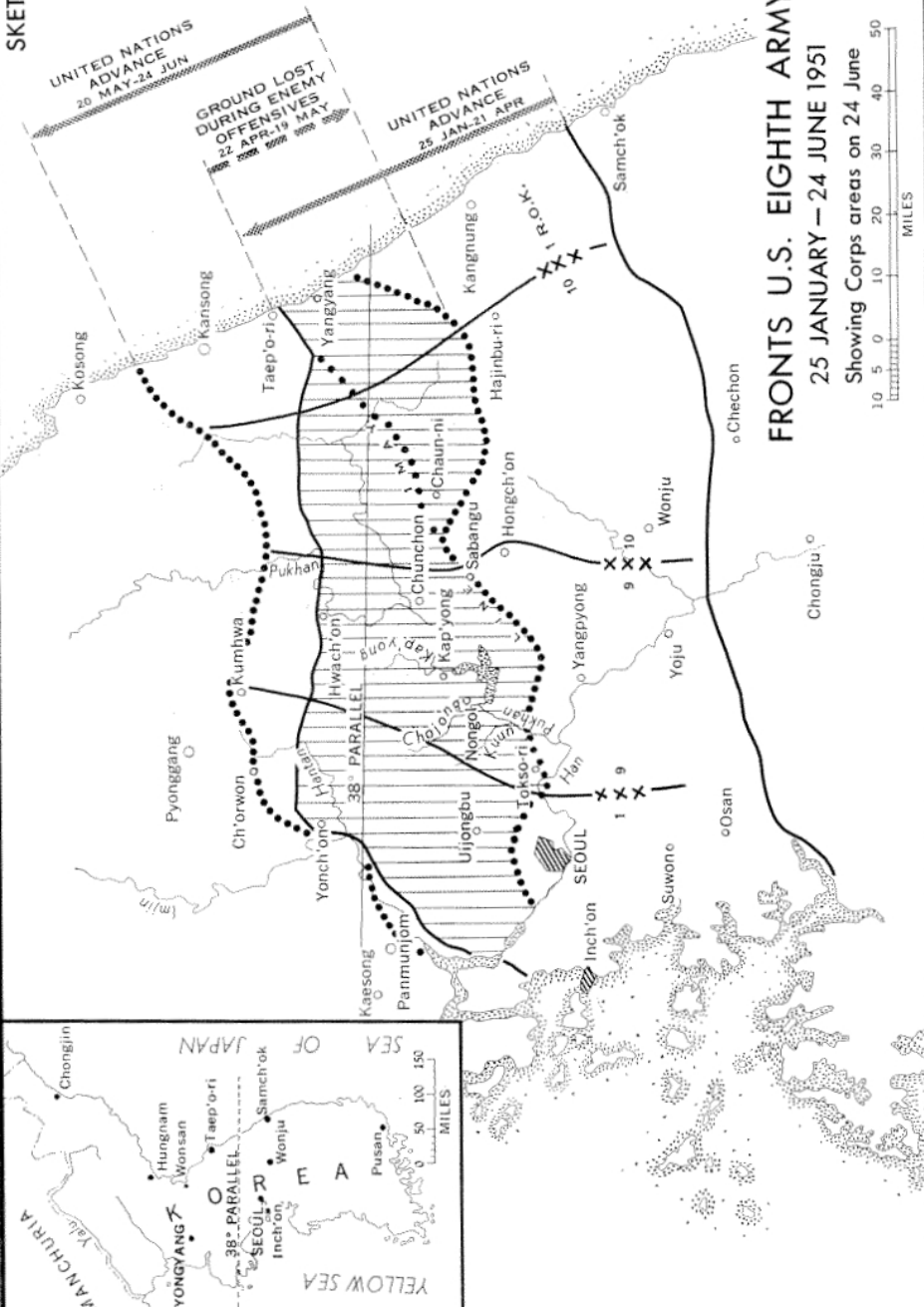
troop of tanks, "A" Company, one troop of field artillery and a tactical air control party. A firm base was established on the high ground immediately north-east of Chingmasan and the artillery deployed there, following which the tanks, the infantry and the tactical air control party continued on the route. Several small bodies of enemy were encountered on the way and dispersed with tank fire and by 4:20 p.m. the patrol had covered some eight miles and firmed up around the village of Hahoosun. At this point an air observation plane accompanying the force reported the enemy in strength on a hill nearby. Artillery fire was brought down and the patrol turned back, arriving at their starting point about 7:00 p.m.

This patrol was the first of a series of deep incursions into enemy territory which was to last until the middle of July. On each patrol, men were killed or wounded by mortar fire, but the enemy was kept away from close contact. No attempt will be made to describe them in detail; they were practically identical in composition and task. Even the brushes with the enemy resembled each other strongly. The following general description of the patrols is provided by the brigade war diarist:

Due to the length of the patrols at least, one battery of the 2 RCHA has to be moved 4-5,000 yards ahead of the Brigade FDLs in order to support the patrols adequately. In addition, whenever it rains, a full troop from 57 Fd Sqn has to be sent with the tanks to construct bridges and build approaches to the numerous streams and deep narrow canals or irrigation ditches. After the tactical elements of the patrol have been pushed out ahead, it is not unusual to have engineer dump trucks carrying crushed rock and gravel out to fill in crossings and soft spots in order to insure the unimpeded return of the patrol's vehicles. The lack of equally vigorous patrolling by the flanking units has made unprotected flanks 10-20,000 yards long quite commonplace. To cover these flanks the individual battalions have been forced to expend a considerable force, drawn from their patrol strength, to picket their flanks in order to prevent surprise and encirclement of their patrols. The net result of this drain upon the already limited strength of the patrols has been the substitution of fire power, in the form of the battalion's 81 mm mortars and the MMG platoon, for men on the ground....

The maximum strength of the patrols put out by the battalions is determined by the necessity of keeping at least two companies in the FDLs. The inclusion of the mortars and MMGs in the patrol is necessitated by the need for close fire support if the exposed flanks are to be protected and the relatively small patrolling force is to achieve its objective and extricate itself in the event that it encounters determined enemy resistance.

The terrain in this area has made the rotation of the battalions very difficult and this has meant that each battalion, including the reserve battalion, has had to take its turn at patrolling. Because of the very open flanks, each battalion has had to leave at least two companies in their FDLs thus limiting the size of their patrols and placing the burden of the wiring and digging of the defence on two companies at a time. For the most part the weather has been very hot and the danger of heat exhaustion in the hills is very great. The length of the patrols and the height of the hills climbed, an average of 450 metres, makes this patrolling more tiring than is normal with the result that the troops quickly become exhausted and at least one day of rest is essential before going on another patrol.⁶⁹



FRONTS U.S. EIGHTH ARMY

25 JANUARY - 24 JUNE 1951

Showing Corps areas on 24 June



As the patrols went on, the danger increased:

Enemy reaction is now evident to the increasingly long and dangerous patrolling being carried on by this brigade. During the first week in July the enemy confined himself largely to observation from a safe distance, but they are now coming further forward to meet our penetrations with gradually increasing strength . . . the day is soon going to come when he will be able to take effective action and the Bde Comd repeatedly cautions the bn comds about this eventuality.⁷⁰

On 9 July, during one of these patrols, the Royal 22e lost their second-in-command. Major J. P. L. Gosselin was acting as Commanding Officer in the absence of Lieutenant-Colonel Dextraze and supervising the movement forward when his scout car ran over a mine. His driver and one operator were also killed and two other operators wounded.⁷¹ Major Gosselin was the only Canadian officer of field rank killed in action in Korea.*

During July two developments occurred which were to have a marked effect on life in the 25th Brigade. The first week saw the arrival of Major-General A. J. H. Cassels, a former Seaforth Highlander, who as the first General Officer Commanding, set about forming the Commonwealth Division. A Canadian who met him in Tokyo wrote:

General Cassels is a lean and erect six-foot four soldier. He has a high forehead an aquiline nose, cold grey eyes and thin lips. Altogether, he looks much like some of the Roman generals that were pictured in our high school Latin readers.⁷²

The United Kingdom had sent a draft directive for Major-General Cassels to the Commonwealth countries concerned in June 1951, asking for comment. In it, Cassels was told that his channel of communication on any contentious matter was to be through the Commander-in-Chief British Commonwealth Occupation Force who would “transmit your appeal to the Defence Committee, Melbourne”. The Australian authorities would then consult with the other Commonwealth countries.⁷³ In commenting on this draft, the Canadian Government stated that the directive was satisfactory except for this one aspect. The Canadian Chiefs of Staff had no representative in Australia, but they did have Brigadier Fleury in Tokyo, who was in charge of a far speedier channel of communication than the suggested one. The British concurred in this and the directive, when published by the War Office in October 1951, set up this special channel to Ottawa.⁷⁴

On the 5th came a very different event; the enemy agreed to meet the United Nations negotiators at Kaesong, on the 38th parallel, on 8 July to discuss terms for a cease fire.

*Major Yvan Dubé, also of 2 R. 22e R., was accidentally killed in the rear of the battalion position a week later, on 16 July, when a Korean discharged a pistol he was cleaning.

CHAPTER IX

THE ENEMY TALKS PEACE AS THE COMMONWEALTH DIVISION IS FORMED

The First Steps Towards Cease-Fire

THE IDEA of arranging a cease-fire in Korea, as a preliminary to the negotiation of a final settlement, appeared early in the United Nations' consideration of the conflict. On 14 December 1950, the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly approved a resolution requesting the President of the General Assembly "to constitute a group of three persons, including himself, to determine the basis on which a satisfactory cease-fire in Korea could be arranged".¹ His Excellency Nasrollah Entezam, the President of the General Assembly, nominated Sir Benegal Rama Rau of India and Mr. L. B. Pearson of Canada to serve with him on the Cease-Fire Group.² The day before, Mr. Pearson, addressing the First Committee of the General Assembly, had suggested that a cease-fire followed by negotiations appeared to be the best sequence to follow in attempting to solve the Korean problem.³

Once formed, the Group consulted representatives of the United Nations Command as to the position it should take in discussions on a cease-fire, and received the suggestion that a demilitarized zone 20 miles deep be established above the 38th parallel, and that the cease-fire be supervised by a United Nations commission.⁴ The Chinese, however, refused to negotiate with or even recognize the Group.⁵ One of their greatest fears appeared to be that the United Nations forces, defeated in northern Korea, might profit by a cessation of hostilities, regroup and begin a counter-offensive.⁶ They argued that negotiations for a political settlement should precede rather than follow a cease-fire.⁷

After the failure of this first attempt, the Group drew up a statement of principles as a basis for cease-fire.⁸ This statement advocated, *inter alia*, immediate negotiations for a cease-fire, followed at once by the calling of a conference to which representatives of the People's Republic of China would be invited. On 13 January 1951 the Political Committee of the General Assembly approved these principles, which were then transmitted to the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

A reply to this communication was received on 17 January. The Chinese attitude on several of the important issues was somewhat vague. In particular, it did not make clear the Chinese views on the relationship in

time between a cease-fire and negotiations. Mr. St. Laurent therefore suggested to Mr. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru that the latter obtain a further clarification of the Chinese position, in the form of answers to specific questions. One of these questions asked the Chinese if they insisted that negotiations on political issues precede a cease-fire. In reply, the Chinese stated that a cease-fire for a limited period could be agreed upon at the first meeting of the conference.

A study of these replies convinced the Canadian delegation that the Chinese position should be explored further. In a speech before the Political Committee, Mr. Pearson described a detailed programme to be presented to the Chinese as a final test of their intentions. The Canadian proposals provided for the assembling of a conference. As its first order of business, this conference would appoint a small committee to arrange an immediate ceasefire. Similarly specific suggestions were advanced about the other major issues.

Previously, a group of Asian and Arab states had submitted a resolution calling for the convening of a seven-nation conference to clarify the Chinese position, and arrange for a settlement in Korea. This group accepted the Canadian suggestion in part, and amended its resolution to provide that arrangement of a cease-fire would be the first matter discussed in the proposed conference. This amendment, however, did not go quite far enough, since it would still have been possible for the conference to cover a wide field before reaching any agreement about a cease-fire. For this and other reasons, the Canadian delegation felt itself unable to support the amended resolution. However, the Canadians did not wish to vote against it, since they were in sympathy with its underlying principles. As a result, Canada abstained from voting on the resolution, which was rejected by the Political Committee.

Meanwhile, the United States representatives had been conducting a vigorous agitation for a quite different sort of action on the Korean question. They interpreted the first Chinese reply to the statement of principles as outright rejection of negotiation, and on 20 January introduced a resolution which named China an aggressor in Korea. Public opinion in the United States, which had been highly inflamed by Chinese intervention in the fighting, favoured acceptance of this resolution by the United Nations. The Canadian delegation at first strove to postpone consideration of the resolution, since it believed the naming of China as an aggressor to be unwise at that time. However it proved impossible to obtain the postponement, and the Canadians accordingly arranged for a moderation in the wording of the resolution, and for an amendment giving precedence to negotiation over consideration of "additional measures" against China. The resolution, as amended, was accepted by the Political Committee, and on 1 February it was approved by the General Assembly, Canada voting for it on both occasions.

For nearly six months after the passing of this resolution, nothing was done about arranging a cease-fire in Korea. The Chinese disregarded the Good Offices Committee established under the authority of the resolution,⁹ and the fighting continued. Then, on 23 June 1951, Mr. Jacob Malik, the U.S.S.R. Permanent Representative to the U.N., made a radio address in which he said "The Soviet peoples believe that as a first step discussions should be started between the belligerents for a cease-fire and an armistice providing for the mutual withdrawal of forces from the thirty-eighth parallel".¹⁰

The reasons behind this public advocacy of a cease-fire are not revealed in the sources available. It is highly likely, however, that stalemate at the front in Korea had something to do with it. The course of the fighting in that unfortunate country had shown that the willingness of either side to arrange a cease-fire varied inversely with the success of its military operations. When, following the Inchon landings, the United Nations forces crossed the 38th parallel – with the North Koreans fleeing in disorder before them – no suggestion of cease-fire followed by negotiations emerged from the discussion of the situation in the United Nations. Later, when the Eighth U.S. Army was conducting a deep withdrawal before the Chinese offensive, the latter showed themselves in turn to be equally cool towards the idea. But by June of 1951 it was plain that a military solution to the Korean problem could not be achieved unless one side or the other greatly increased its commitment. The front was established in the general area of the 38th parallel and promised to remain there, although the possibility of limited tactical changes still existed.¹¹

In this situation, four main courses faced the contending powers. They could get out of the country altogether or expand their commitment to the extent required for a decision. Failing the adoption of either of these courses, a cease-fire was the only alternative to indefinite continuation of a bloody and indecisive struggle. United States support for a cease-fire and a negotiated settlement was on record, and a strong indication that this support was genuine had been afforded by the dismissal of General MacArthur, after he had publicly advocated extending military operations into Chinese territory. In addition, the utterances of leading figures in the United Nations, and the cautious manner in which operations had been conducted in the vicinity of the 38th parallel, served to provide further assurances that the United Nations, while determined to defend the border indefinitely, were opposed to any adventurous course in North Korea and were correspondingly willing to arrange a cease-fire on the parallel.¹²

The Truce Talks Begin

Whatever the motive, it soon became apparent that Mr. Malik had accurately reflected the official policy of the U.S.S.R. On 28 June 1951 the

Government of the United States announced:

Deputy Foreign Minister Gromyko received the United States Ambassador in Moscow yesterday afternoon. In discussing Mr. Malik's statement Mr. Gromyko indicated that it would be for the military representatives of the Unified Command and of the Korean Republic Command on the one hand and the military representatives of the North Korean Command and of the "Chinese volunteer units" on the other to negotiate the armistice envisaged in Mr. Malik's statement. The armistice, Mr. Gromyko pointed out, would include a cease-fire and would be limited to strictly military questions without involving any political or territorial matters; the military representatives would discuss questions of assurances against the resumption of hostilities.

Beyond the conclusion of an armistice the Soviet Government had no specific steps in mind looking toward the peaceful settlement to which Mr. Malik referred. Mr. Gromyko indicated, however, that it would be up to the parties in Korea to decide what subsequent special arrangements would have to be made for a political and territorial settlement. He said that the Soviet Government was not aware of the views of the Chinese Communist regime on Mr. Malik's statement.¹³

Next day, it was announced in Washington that the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Command had been authorized to attempt to open negotiations for a cease-fire, and on 10 July the official representatives of the opposing supreme commanders met at Kaesong. (a town along the 38th parallel about 35 miles north-west of Seoul) for the first session of the Military Armistice Conference.¹⁴ The delegation representing the United Nations Command was led by Vice-Admiral C. T. Joy, U.S.N., and included a representative from the South Korean army. The Chinese and North Korean delegation was headed by Lieutenant-General Nam Il of the North Korean army and included two Chinese delegates.¹⁵

Initially there was some difficulty over the status of Kaesong. The Chinese had occupied the area, and they maintained posts on the roads leading to it from the south. It could thus be made to appear – and was, in fact, so represented by the Communists – that the representatives of the United Nations Command were coming, into enemy-held territory to sue for peace. General Ridgway therefore demanded that the Kaesong area be neutralized, and the other side finally agreed to this condition.¹⁶

On 26 July agreement was reached on the agenda. This agreement was made possible by the Chinese and North Koreans abandoning their insistence that withdrawal of foreign forces be included and that the 38th parallel be a line of demarcation. The U.N. negotiators considered this a political issue and, as such, outside the scope of the armistice negotiations.¹⁷ The complete agenda ran as follows:

- (1) Adoption of agenda;
- (2) Fixing a military demarcation line between both sides, so as to establish a demilitarized zone as a basic condition for the cessation of hostilities in Korea;
- (3) Concrete arrangements for the realization of a cease-fire and an armistice in Korea, including the composition, authority and functions of a supervising organization for carrying out the terms of the cease-fire and armistice;
- (4) Arrangements relating to prisoners of war;

- (5) Recommendations to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides.¹⁸

It would be fruitless to attempt to follow in any detail the protracted, wrangling discussions – carried on intermittently for two whole years – of the items on this agenda. Initially there were hopes of success, but as the negotiations dragged on from one deadlock to another, it began to appear that even the first step towards a final settlement in Korea could not be taken.

The Commonwealth Division is Organized

At Army Headquarters in Ottawa, the spring and summer of 1951 were devoted largely to problems associated with the formation of a NATO force, but the necessity for a Commonwealth Division was also occupying the planning staffs.

Such a formation had from the first seemed desirable from a military point of view, but as we have seen (page 44 above) the Cabinet was less enthusiastic. Not only was its name a stumbling block, but it seemed inevitable that if it were formed Canada would be called upon to supply its share of Headquarters staffs and divisional troops. The matter, however, did not become urgent until the 25th Brigade was warned for duty in Korea.

The Cabinet had agreed, as early as December 1950, that “if the Unified Command considered it desirable” the Canadian Force in Korea could participate for operational purposes in a formation “to be known as the 1st (Commonwealth) Division, United Nations Forces.”¹⁹ In March 1951, however, when the War Office in London called for a meeting to discuss each nation’s share in such an enterprise, the C.G.S. sent the following message to Brigadier R. W. Moncel, who was head of the Canadian Army Liaison Establishment:

Canadian Government agreeable to grouping Commonwealth troops together but adamantly opposed to any increase in Canadian Army Forces in Korea over and above . . . 25 Cdn Inf Bde Group . . . which already includes increment of Div troops.

Lieutenant-General Simonds went on to say that within the limitations thus expressed, he had no objection to a discussion of the British proposals.²⁰

The composition of the division turned on the retention in Korea of two British brigades. The War Office wanted very much to move the 27th Brigade back to Hong-Kong and if this could be arranged, the number of additional supporting troops needed to form a division would be small. Brigadier Moncel reported as well that in any case Britain would be prepared to provide the majority of the extra units needed but pointed out that service on a divisional staff would offer a rare opportunity for training some Canadian staff officers.²¹

The meeting at the War Office (on 16 March 1951) was attended by

officers from the liaison staffs of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India and Canada. Moncel reported that none of the countries represented at the meeting was willing to provide any substantial increase to its current contribution and it seemed apparent that a two brigade division was almost inevitable.²² A few days later, however, Moncel was informed that General MacArthur would not agree to release the 27th Brigade and the War Office was forced to reopen the discussion on the basis of a three brigade division. Canada was asked to provide eight officers and 14 other ranks for an integrated divisional headquarters, a number that was about half the British contribution. Australia and New Zealand were asked for similar numbers. Britain would provide the artillery staff (including a counter-battery organization), a field engineer regiment, a divisional signal regiment and a Royal Army Service Corps column. This very generous assumption of responsibility made it easier to ask Canada to contribute to the signals regiment and to assist in enlarging the 400 bed general hospital in Kure. In order to assist Canada in making up its mind, Moncel reported to the C.G.S. that while Australia would limit any additional contribution to the divisional staff, New Zealand had agreed to increase its force by approximately 500.

Early in April Mr. Claxton presented these proposals to the Cabinet Defence Committee, pointing out that the 25th Brigade Signal Squadron was organized for an independent role and could contribute some 30 signallers to the divisional signal regiment if the brigade became part of a division. On 12 April, the new V.C.G.S., Major-General H. A. Sparling (who had taken over from Major-General Graham on 1 February 1951) was able to wire Brigadiers Fleury and Rockingham that the proposals had been approved in principle by the Government. The news was released to the press by the Minister on 28 April.

Subsequently, efforts were made by the Commander-in-Chief, British Commonwealth Forces in Korea to add Canadians to his integrated staff in Japan, but without success. In Lieutenant-General Simonds' words "Canada has now reached the limit of manpower which can be allotted to the Korean theatre."²³

Meanwhile, along the 38th parallel, the components of British Commonwealth forces were being drawn closer together. The assembling of the three formations which were to become the brigades of the new division has already been recorded. With this went a parallel assembling of command and staff elements, and of maintenance units required to make the division "operational". On 1 July, the first flight of the Canadian Section, British Commonwealth Hospital arrived in Kure.²⁴

On 11 June, the General Officer Commanding, Major-General Casels, arrived in Kure, Japan, where he met members of the division's staff. These included Lieutenant-Colonel E. D. Danby, the senior General Staff Officer, who had arrived from Canada on 8 June.²⁵ The Canadian element



J. Carrol

UNCONSCIOUS IRONY

The newly “liberated” City Hall at Taejon, as seen by a passing Canadian war correspondent.



W.H. Olson

FIRM BASE

The 2nd P.P.C.L.I. positions along the east bank of the Imjin, 10 June 1951. Complete freedom from air observation is evident in the carefree manner that tents, marquees and trucks are scattered about in the open.



W.H. Olson

REFUGEES

of the Headquarters increased as the latter took shape, until, on 28 July, it included seven officers.²⁶ On 1 August, the Canadian element was organized as a unit of the Canadian Army, under the designation "Canadian Section, Headquarters First (Commonwealth) Division".²⁷ On 24 June, the British elements of the staff and services of the Headquarters together with the 1st Commonwealth Divisional Signal Regiment and the 28th Field Engineer Regiment arrived in Pusan, and the Headquarters was set up, for the first time, in Seaforth Camp near that city.²⁸

Problems of Adjustment

The formation of the division brought reductions in Brigadier Rockingham's command. Previously, his force might have been considered, in some respects at least, a division in miniature, complete with its own arms and services.

The incorporation of the Canadian brigade into the division brought changes in the organization for command and control. Previously, as the commander of an independent force, the Brigadier had exercised direct operational and administrative control over all Canadian units forward of Headquarters Eighth U.S. Army, while the troops along the Line of Communication, in rear of Army Headquarters, were controlled by his appropriate service advisers from the Canadian brigade headquarters.²⁹

But after incorporation, while Canadian units of the former brigade group remained under Brigadier Rockingham's administrative control for purely Canadian aspects, such as discipline, promotion and transfer, he had operational control of only the three infantry battalions and the armoured squadron. The other units in the group came under operational control of Headquarters 1st Commonwealth Division, although they were used, for the most part, in support of the 25th Brigade.³⁰ It stands greatly to the credit of all concerned that the transition was made with the absolute minimum of friction or confusion.*

While the units and formations of the new division operated together with remarkable smoothness from the start, the same working relationship was not immediately established with Headquarters 1st U.S. Corps. One of the first difficulties encountered was that of persuading the corps to move the Canadian brigade to the Commonwealth area. On this subject, Major-General Cassels reported as follows:

My major worry during this time was to persuade I U.S. Corps to assemble the

*An example of the sort of situation which arose during the transition from brigade group to brigade status is provided by an incident involving the 57th Field Squadron. Brigadier Rockingham had ordered it to construct a tactical road into the position of one of the battalions, while the divisional commander of the Royal Engineers had arranged for the unit to level an air strip at Divisional Headquarters. Priority was ultimately given to the tactical road.³¹

three brigades in such locations as to make them controllable as a division. 28 and 29 Brigades were very conveniently sited side by side on the KANSAS line. 25 Canadian Bde was miles away in the Chorwon area. I was assured that by the time I took over they would be brought back into a reserve area behind 28 and 29 Brigades. I went forward on 21 July and found that 25 Brigade had been moved, but instead of being put in reserve had been lent to 25 U.S. Inf Div (later relieved by 1 U.S. Cav Div) to protect their left flank, and that I was expected to take it over in that location. As this put all my brigades in the front line, and as the Canadians were separated from the others by two rivers, both of which were in flood, I protested strongly. After three days of argument and discussion it was agreed that 25 Brigade should move to a reserve area behind 28 and 29 Brigades.³²

Although Corps Headquarters finally agreed to the movement of 25th Brigade to the Commonwealth sector, it retained control over the brigade as “mobile reserve”, at least for a few days. The task assigned, as quoted by Brigade Headquarters was “to be prepared to operate offensively anywhere in Corps zone, with first priority in zone of 28th and 29th Infantry Brigades”.³³

This arrangement was actually confirmed later on. Although the Canadians had become part of the Commonwealth Division, the division was only able to use the brigade within its sector after obtaining authority from Headquarters 1st Corps. Other than this somewhat nebulous control over the Canadian brigade, the Commonwealth Division had no reserve during this period.³⁴

As the division began to operate, the G.O.C. found it difficult at times to understand the reason behind some of the orders he received. His report on this matter sheds some light on the arrangements for control of the division at the higher levels of command.

My main trouble during this period was to convince I Corps that, though we were more than ready to do anything that was required we did like to know the reason behind it. On many occasions I was ordered, without any warning, to do things which I considered militarily unsound and for which there was no apparent reason. Eventually I asked the Corps Commander for an interview where I put all my cards on the table. I pointed out that we worked quite differently to them, and it was impossible to expect that we could suddenly change our ways to conform with American procedure. I then asked that, in the future, we should be given our task, the reasons for that task and that we should then be left alone to do it our way without interference from the Corps Staff. The Corps Commander could not have been more helpful and, since then, things have been much better and both sides are happier. Nevertheless I regret that I cannot state that everything is now completely right. There is no doubt that they look at military problems in a very different light to us and I never know for certain what the future plan is likely to be. There have been at least five occasions when I considered invoking my directive I am glad to say that, so far, this has been unnecessary, but I cannot help feeling that the day may come when I really shall have to do so. I can assure you that I shall avoid it if possible.³⁵

With this statement by Major-General Cassels the process known humorously as “waving the paper” came to full flower. The terms of reference with which each national commander was armed were used sparingly

by the Commonwealth leaders, but it is interesting to note that both Lieutenant-Colonel Stone and Brigadier Rockingham had found it necessary, in the beginning, to establish their position in the same way. Thereafter, as mutual understanding developed, there was no need to do so again.

One has only to recall the words of the great Austrian general, Montecucculi, to be thankful that such alliances have improved with the years. Writing about the wars of the seventeenth century he said:

“Allied armies come together without properly understanding what each other means; they have different interests to pursue, which they will not sufficiently explain to each other; their language is different, their manners not the same, and their discipline dissimilar”.³⁶

This is as accurate a description of the U.N. Command as anyone could want, yet the dangers which the conqueror of Condé and Turenne foresaw in such a force were never a serious factor in Korea.

When the new Headquarters assumed control, its formations held a front of 11,000 yards, a sector of line “Kansas”, on the south bank of the Imjin river, from that river’s junction with the Hantan westward to the boundary of the 1st R.O.K. Division.³⁷ The 25th U.S. Infantry Division, replaced by the 1st Cavalry Division on 31 July,³⁸ was on the right. Within the sector of the Commonwealth Division, the 29th Brigade was on the left, and the 28th Brigade on the right. The 25th Brigade lay in rear, during those periods when it was not employed elsewhere. The main enemy positions were 6000 to 8000 yards north of the Imjin, which was in flood but which could be crossed by boats or rafts.³⁹

Mention has been made in an earlier chapter of the sharp curve in the Imjin river at its junction with the Hantan. Previous activity in the area within this curve had indicated that, in the main, enemy positions there were temporary posts. However there was always the possibility, noted by Brigadier Rockingham when his brigade occupied positions on the eastern side of the salient, that the enemy might attack east across the Imjin and sever the north-south supply route to Ch’orwon. This threat prompted vigorous and deep patrolling into the salient, in which activity the new division became involved almost immediately. In fact the whole story of the operations of the division from its formation may be summarized as patrols into the salient, followed by actual occupation of the area in Operations “Minden” and “Commando”

From 28 June 1951, until early in September, the 25th Brigade was in reserve. Its activities during this period are worth recording in some detail because they illustrate a somewhat unusual employment of a reserve. In addition to the conventional role of preparing plans for action in the event of an enemy penetration,⁴⁰ the brigade prepared plans for recapture of the bridges at Seoul, should they be seized by enemy paratroops.⁴¹ There is no mention of rehearsal of any of these possible tasks, but the reconnaissance of the areas involved and the making of appreciations and plans provided

active employment for Brigadier Rockingham and his commanding officers.⁴²

Within the division, as has been noted, the brigade occupied a somewhat equivocal position. Brigadier Rockingham must, however, have taken seriously the possibility of being called on to perform tasks in defence of the divisional area, for he issued a plan on 28 August covering five possible counterattacks to restore the areas of the forward brigades.⁴³ It was fortunate that no enemy attack developed during August to put these plans to the test, for during the period, the Canadians were employed for much of the time on other tasks and would not have been available quickly, or at all, as a reserve for either corps or division..

Along the Imjin—August 1951

The first of these tasks occurred early in August, during Operation “Slam”. This operation consisted of patrols in strength across the Imjin, with troops of the Commonwealth crossing from the south and elements of the 1st Cavalry Division from the east. In the plan, the 25th Brigade, less the 2nd R.C.R., was to occupy positions along the east bank of the Imjin, north of its junction with the Hantan, as those positions were vacated by the 5th Cavalry Regiment, the formation detailed to conduct the patrol. Next day, two battalions each from the 29th and the 28th Brigades crossed the Imjin and began to move north and west, the 5th Cavalry Regiment conforming on the right. The Americans encountered some resistance, but the Commonwealth troops advanced 6500 yards north of the Imjin without contact. As it had done before, the Imjin flooded, forcing resort to air supply and delaying the withdrawal of the troops until last light on 6 August. On 8 August the 25th Brigade was relieved and moved back into reserve,⁴⁴ and on the 10th, Lieutenant-Colonel Stone returned from Canada and resumed command of the 2nd P.P.C.L.I.

Operations “Dirk” and “Claymore” followed. The first was a battalion patrol by the R.C.R. north across the Imjin. The three-fold object of the operation was to capture a prisoner, clear the Chinese from the vicinity of the Imjin and establish the location of the enemy’s Main positions. Major C. H. Lithgow, the second-in-command, led this patrol; Lieutenant-Colonel Keane was acting Brigade Commander during the Brigadier’s absence in Japan. A troop of Lord Strathcona tanks accompanied battalion headquarters. “A” Company crossed a mile east of the junction with the Sami-ch’on, on 13 August and established a firm base. Next day the remaining companies crossed, and “leap-frogged” through each other from hill to hill until they had advanced some four miles into enemy territory without opposition.⁴⁵

The day was oppressively hot and humid and the tired troops were glad to settle down at dark in company defensive positions. The first enemy

reaction came that night when small Chinese patrols probed at the "B" and "C" Company positions. The 2nd R.C.H.A. fired on them from their gun positions south of the Imjin and dispersed them, but "C" and "D" Companies suffered thereafter from sporadic mortar and machine-gun fire. Next morning one dead Chinese soldier and a Russian carbine were discovered in front of "C" Company's hill position.

At 6:00 a.m., "C" Company, with Captain L. W. G. Hayes in command, moved forward towards its final objective, Hill 187, a dominating feature another mile to the north. Two hours later, about half way there, the company came under fire from enemy dug in on a hill that overlooked their advance from the west. Hayes, who was commanding a company for the first time in a major action, recalled later what followed:

I moved off in the morning mist. As we were moving towards our final objective, point 187, suddenly, along the crest of a ridge some 200 yards to our front, an enemy bunker appeared. The enemy who were standing on top of the bunker, turned and looked at us through field glasses, apparently as surprised as we were.

Hayes attempted to rush the position by ordering his leading platoon forward but the enemy reaction was swifter and the troops were driven to ground by machine-gun fire before they had gone 50 yards. Captain Hayes called down artillery fire on the position but it was not until the battalion mortars came into action that the enemy fire slackened, permitting "C" Company to assault the position. Hayes deployed two of his platoons in covering positions and ordered the third to assault the hill position from the rear. Lieutenant A. P. Rankine led his men, undetected, to an assault position and ordered bayonets fixed. (Only a quarter of his men had this weapon.) Then, in the words of Hayes, "the platoon went up the hill in not quite the best Errol Flynn manner, but nevertheless with considerable dash." A hand-to-hand encounter followed.

In this assault Private G. G. Rowden particularly distinguished himself. He had been wounded in the head during the initial exchange of fire, but after binding up the wound himself, he refused to be evacuated and joined the assaulting platoon. Reaching the crest of the hill and firing his Bren gun from the hip, he engaged the enemy positions one after another, and his coolness and accuracy undoubtedly contributed to the outcome. For his conduct on this occasion he was awarded the Military Medal.

The attack was successful and by 10:00 a.m. the enemy had been driven from the hill. Captain Hayes and his men found the bunkers and trenches of what had evidently been a platoon position, seven dead and two dying Chinese soldiers, and several automatic weapons. "C" Company suffered two wounded in the attack. It was "C" Company's last advance on this particular patrol; heavy and accurate machine-gun fire, originating on the company objective, Hill 187, made further progress unwise. The enemy appeared to be dug in at least in company strength.

Throughout this episode, Lieutenant-Colonel Keane circled overhead

in a reconnaissance aircraft, in full communication with the American air contact team and the companies of the R.C.R. As Hayes was consolidating his gains he was told by Keane that the enemy were moving to cut off his retreat. Keane ordered him to withdraw.⁴⁶

The next advance north was by "B" Company. It had as its objective a hill (152) north-east of 187 and it had been advancing parallel to "C" Company. The company commander, Captain E. K. Wildfang, could see clearly the "C" Company attack and was even able to support it by ordering one of his Bren gunners to open fire on an enemy machine-gun crew that was firing at "C" Company. Enemy reaction was swift. Almost immediately, "B" Company was hit with heavy mortar and artillery fire and forced to dig in. At 12:30 p.m. the advance was resumed, but as the company moved down the slope of its hill position the mortar fire increased and several men were wounded, including the company sergeant major. The advance was pressed home, however, until the leading platoon reached the lower slopes of the objective. There the weight of fire made it obvious that the hill was held in strength and since the object of the patrol had been to confirm this, Wildfang stopped the attack and began to withdraw, reaching the Imjin at 6:00 p.m.

"C" Company did not have as easy a withdrawal, for the enemy followed closely, and the platoons covering each other's movements were not able to silence the enemy small arms fire. "D" Company, which had been battalion reserve for the operation, was ordered to hold a delaying position so that "C" could break contact and move through them. This they were finally able to do by 4:45 p.m. thanks largely to the cool courage of Private C. O. Bell of "D" Company, who used his Bren gun so effectively that the enemy were stopped and finally broke off the action. For this he too was awarded the Military Medal. Hayes recalls that there were a number of acts of gallantry during "C" Company's withdrawal that were "never noted at the time because every body was too busy doing his job". Private G. L. McIntyre, for instance, handled his Bren gun skillfully along with Bell and helped materially to break up the last enemy attempt at interception. By last light on the 15th, the battalion had successfully re-crossed the Imjin and concentrated in its former assembly area.

Operation "Claymore", a patrol by the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. and the 2nd R. 22e R. over the Imjin, took place between 22 and 24 August 1951. The battalions crossed at Sumuso, established firm positions and patrolled as far as Hills 187 and 208. Only light and transient opposition was encountered, but the enemy came up on the wireless net twice requesting a parley. This experience resembled that of the R.C.R. which had received a note from the Chinese through a Korean villager during its patrol, suggesting that a celebration be organized.*

*These incidents seem to have been a battlefield reaction to the truce talks at Kaesong.

On conclusion of the patrol, the R. 22e R. returned by the ferry at Sumuso and moved to an assembly area at Saetongjae, where it met 2nd R.C.R. The Patricias returned due south, and went back to their former position. The purpose of this move was to place the 25th Brigade, less one battalion in rear of the 1st Cavalry Division, to support the 5th Cavalry Regiment while it adjusted its positions. The 25th Brigade moved back to the Commonwealth area on the 28th, and on 4 September relieved the 28th Brigade on the right of the division's front.

Across the Imjin to Stay—Operation “Minden”

The negotiations for a cease-fire and an armistice, which had accomplished nothing during the first half of 1951, broke down in August. The presence of an armed company of Communist troops in the neutral conference area prompted General Ridgway, on 4 August, to break off the talks until “assurances of non-recurrence are received”.⁴⁷ When these were given on 9 August the negotiations were resumed the next day. But on 23 August the Chinese and North Korean delegations took the initiative, charging that a United Nations aircraft had attacked the meeting place the previous night.

General Ridgway rejected this charge, as well as others accusing the U.N. Command of breaches of the neutrality arrangements, and this time Communist negotiators broke off the talks. During September the armistice talks remained suspended, although messages were passed back and forth on the subject of the alleged incidents. Beyond some wrangling by liaison officers over a new site for the negotiations, the talks remained deadlocked.

Meanwhile, along the battlefield and in the sky over North Korea the U.N. Command stepped up its offensive operations resulting insofar as the Commonwealth Division was concerned in Operations “Minden” and “Commando”.

Operation “Minden”, the division's move forward into the no-man's-land within the curve of the Imjin, began on 8 September, when the 28th Brigade crossed the river and established a bridgehead covering two crossings, one where the road north from Choksong crossed the river and the other a few miles to the east.⁴⁸ Class 50 bridges (for tanks) were constructed at these crossings, which were ultimately made into the high level structures named “Teal” and “Pintail” – names which no member of the division will ever forget. They were the main links to the maintenance areas behind the Imjin and their existence was vital. Much time and treasure were spent keeping them in repair and fighting off the temperamental river they bridged.

At 2:00 p.m. on 9 September, Brigadier Rockingham held an Orders Group at Lieutenant-Colonel Stone's Headquarters and confirmed that the Canadian brigade's part in “Minden” would begin on the 11th. As a preliminary the Patricias would cross the Imjin on the 10th. On 11 September the division moved north out of the bridgehead with the 29th Brigade left

and the 25th Brigade right, and advanced toward the objective; a line code-named "Wyoming", from Sanggorangp'o to Chung-gol.⁴⁹ Occupation of this line would remove the salient.* By 13 September, the move had been completed. The 12th R.O.K. Regiment "tied in" on the division's left at Sanggorangp'o, its line to the west running south of the Imjin. The 5th Cavalry Regiment was on the right at Chung-gol, the Cavalry Division's positions continuing the line north-east towards Ch'orwon. The inter-brigade boundary divided the Commonwealth Division's front roughly in half, and the Samich'on in turn divided the front of the 29th Brigade.⁵⁰ At this time, then, the division lay on line "Wyoming", with line "Kansas" in its rear along the south bank of the Imjin.

The part played by Canadians in "Minden" was not a particularly stirring one and the casualties of 3 killed and 10 wounded were comparatively light.⁵¹ The general area which the brigade was to occupy lay south of Sumuso. Part of the brigade's objective was already held by one of the battalions of the 28th Brigade, and previous patrols had already explored the territory.

On 12 September "B" Company 2nd R. 22e R. (Captain J. P. R. Tremblay) whose position centered on Hill 172, put in an attack on three hills across the valley to its front to clear the enemy from them so that work on the defences of the main position could be carried on without interference.⁵² This attack was carried out with great spirit and very skilful coordination of supporting fire by Captain Tremblay. In the words of the brigade diarist:

Following an air strike. . . "B" Company attacked at 1530 hours under cover of artillery. "C" Squadron was in support and under the, able direction of the company commander, literally fired the troops down the slope from Hill 172, across the valley, and on to the middle objective.

This tank support was controlled by Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Dextraze and Major J. W. Quinn, the squadron commander. In Dextraze's words "We were watching Therrien's (the platoon commander) progress up the flank of the hill through our binoculars. I would talk to Therrien, [finding out] where the fire was coming from". This information was passed by Quinn to individual tanks which then opened fire. Some of the enemy bunkers engaged in this way were not more than 40 or 50 yards ahead of the Canadians and this accurate supporting fire contributed greatly to "B" Company's success.⁵³

The troops themselves lived up to the accurate supporting fire. Lieutenant J. P. A. Therrien, commanding the left forward platoon, led his men up the hill with such vigour that the enemy (who appeared to be an infantry

*The new line represented an extension of "Wyoming" across the base of the salient. Previously, "Wyoming" had run from Ch'orwon to the Yonch'on area. After "Minden", it would run from Ch'orwon across the Imjin to Sanggorangp'o.

company) fled their defences, leaving sixteen dead behind them. Therrien and Tremblay were awarded the Military Cross. Two other soldiers, Corporal J. G. Ostiguy and Private R. Gagnon earned the Military Medal for the skill and fearlessness they showed as their platoons swept over the objective. Ostiguy's section was reduced by casualties to three men but with fire and movement he penetrated into a platoon position, hurling grenades into bunkers and putting the enemy to flight. Gagnon, a wireless operator, hurled a grenade ups-hill with such accuracy that it landed inside an enemy dugout, knocking out the machine-gun and killing the crew. But the captured objective proved to be untenable. The enemy on nearby Hill 222 proved too strong to be dislodged and the company was ordered to return to Hill 172.⁵⁴ Next day "D" Company took the features without opposition, and counted 36 enemy dead. The King's Shropshire Light Infantry occupied the area on the 14th, leaving the Royal 22e free to complete work on its position.⁵⁵ On 17 and 18 September, the British unit was relieved by companies from 25th Brigade.⁵⁶ Routine patrols and a great deal of mining, wiring and digging occupied the 25th Brigade after this relief, until the commencement of Operation "Commando" early in October.

What is often described at higher levels as "routine patrolling" can be anything but routine when one gets down to company level. Such an operation was carried out by "B" Company, 2nd R.C.R. (Captain Wildfang) on 22 September 1951. Aptly titled Operation "Snatch", its purpose was to bring back a live Chinese soldier.

Preliminary patrolling from 11 to 20 September revealed that the enemy was occupying two features, "Regina" and "Ortona", approximately 4,000 metres north-west of the "B" Company position. These two code-names denoted high points about 200 metres apart on a 600 metre spur which ran at right angles to the enemy front line. The Chinese defenders appeared to be rather jumpy and fired weapons on fixed lines at any sign of movement. After carefully charting the arcs of known enemy weapons, questioning all "B" Company members who had been in the area, studying air photos, maps and weather reports, the company commander evolved a plan.

The plan involved the use of the entire company plus No. 1 Platoon of "A" Company. Company headquarters and No. 1 Platoon would remain in the area of "Dog", another high point on the same spur about 1,800 metres from the objective, while No. 6 Platoon moved up further to form a firm base and Nos. 4 and 5 Platoons would follow a nearby valley to bring them up on the right of the objective. The 2nd R.C.H.A. was allotted to support the operation.

At 4:00 on 22 September the platoons moved to a forming up place to the rear of "Dog" and awaited darkness. No. 6 Platoon (Lieutenant W. D. Smallman) moved off at 10:00 p.m. followed an hour later by No. 4 (Lieutenant E. H. Devlin) and No. 5 (Lieutenant J. P. MacLean) heading for "Or-

tona". By ten minutes to two, No. 5 Platoon had reached the feature and with No. 4 Platoon as a firm base they received orders to clear "Ortona". No. 5 Platoon was able to obtain complete surprise and although the enemy resisted with mortars, grenades and small arms, within an hour MacLean and his men had captured one prisoner and had reorganized on the knoll. No. 4 now headed on to attack "Regina". By this time, however, the noise of the skirmish on "Ortona" had alerted the Chinese on "Regina" and No. 4 Platoon became involved in a sharp fight using grenades and small arms. They too were able to take one prisoner, but having lost contact with No. 5, Lieutenant Devlin ordered his men to withdraw to "Dog", after having closed to within 100 yards of "Regina". No. 5 Platoon was forced to return directly to the company area because of mortar and small arms fire, and although this confused things somewhat, the whole company was back home by 7:40 a.m. In one night this "routine" patrol had killed at least 18 enemy, with another seven presumed dead, and captured two prisoners at a cost of only three wounded,⁵⁷ among them Lieutenant MacLean of No. 5 Platoon.

Operation "Commando", 3-8 October 1951

Operation "Cudgel", from which "Commando" developed by process of amendment, was a rather complicated and ambitious undertaking, involving all four divisions of the 1st U.S. Corps, and the 25th Division of the 9th U.S. Corps. Advances were to be made to a line "Jamestown" which, in the case of the Commonwealth Division, was 6,000 to 8,000 yards north-west of "Wyoming".⁵⁸ A further advance to line "Fargo", 4,000 to 5,000 yards beyond "Jamestown", was also planned, to be made on orders of Headquarters 1st Corps.⁵⁹

In the final corps plan, the operation was re-named "Commando" and simplified. D Day was to be 3 October 1951. Preliminary moves began on 28 September, when the R. 22e R. relieved a battalion of the 5th Cavalry Regiment in its area on the right flank. One hour after the move of the Royal 22e began, the R.C.R. started by companies to new positions roughly 2,000 yards forward, the Patricias fitting in between.⁶⁰

Completion of these preliminary moves, to which the name Operation "Osmosis" had been given, placed the R.C.R. and P.P.C.L.I. in the brigade's former outpost line, as required in the original planning for "Cudgel" and retained in the plan for "Commando". The move of the R. 22e R. was completed on 1 October, when the 15th Regiment of the 1st R.O.K. Division took over all territory west of the Sami-ch'on from the 29th Brigade.⁶¹

Major-General Cassells planned to make the attack in three phases.⁶² In Phase I, the 28th Brigade would attack on the right of the division's front on D Day⁶³ with the 1st Shropshires on the left, going for Hills 208

and 210, the 1st King's Own Scottish Borderers in the centre capturing the dominating feature, Hill 355, and the 3rd Royal Australian Regiment on the right with Hill 199 as its objective.⁶⁴ Since this plan committed all three battalions of the 28th Brigade, a reserve was to be created by placing a battalion of the 29th Brigade under command of the 28th on D Day.⁶⁵ In Phase II, which was to take place on "D plus 1", the Canadians were to seize a line of high ground 3,000 yards forward of "Wyoming". Phases I and II of the attack were planned over two successive days in order to allow each brigade in turn to be supported by the whole of the division's artillery and part of the Corps artillery.⁶⁶ Phase III was to be the exploitation by the 25th and 28th Brigades to the line "Jamestown".⁶⁷ The 29th Brigade, employing one battalion, was to secure the Canadian left flank up to "Jamestown", where the battalion was to be relieved by the 25th Brigade on completion of Phase III.⁶⁸ The comparatively minor role assigned to the 29th Brigade is explained by the fact that one battalion of the formation was due to be relieved by a battalion from the United Kingdom not later than 11 October. For some reason, however, the commander selected the 1st Royal Ulster Rifles to guard the 25th Brigade flank,⁶⁹ although this was the battalion scheduled for relief.⁷⁰

Brigadier Rockingham's plan also divided his brigade's attack into three phases.⁷¹ In Phase I the Royal Canadian Regiment and the Patricias were to advance to the line of high ground 3,000 yards forward, the R.C.R. capturing the feature north-west of Chommal and Hill 187 while P.P.C.L.I. secured Hill 187 itself, and took over from the Shropshires on Hill 210. The Ulster Rifles were to occupy the feature north-east of Yong-dong, Hill 179 and the heights between not later than two hours before Phase I began. Phase II was the capture by the Ulsters of their sector of the line "Jamestown" – the features south of Karhyon-ni and Pangnae-dong, a hill north-east of Kinsan-dong, as well as Hill 127.

In Phase III of the brigade attack, the R.C.R. would secure the feature north-east of Hamurhan and the height north-west of Ochon. The P.P.C.L.I. was to capture Hill 159 and the high ground south of it. The R. 22e R. was to move from its position on the right of the brigade's front on D Day, relieve the R.C.R., and remain in that unit's former area as brigade reserve. On completion of Phase III it was to relieve the Ulsters, who would then move back to the Imjin to await relief by the 1st Royal Norfolk Regiment.⁷²

The 28th Brigade attacked at first light on 3 October in Phase I of the divisional operation. At the start, all went well, but strong enemy opposition was encountered by 10:00 a.m., and at last light the Shropshires were 1,000 yards short of Hill 210, while the Borderers were the same distance from their objective, Hill 355. The Australians on the right, however, had succeeded in securing Hill 199. There was no enemy contact during the night, and the attack was resumed at first light on the 4th. The Shropshires took Hill 210, and by 1:00 p.m., the Borderers had fought their way on to

Hill 355. Capture of these two features completed Phase I of the attack, and it was no mean achievement. Hill 355, or Kowang-san, loomed over the area like a fortress. The Americans, when their turn came to hold it, called it "Little Gibraltar", but the troops of the Commonwealth Division, who were to shed much blood defending it, called it simply "Three five five".

Phase II, the attack by the 25th Brigade to secure high ground 3,000 yards forward of "Wyoming", began at 11:00 a.m., 4 October while the Borderers were still fighting for Hill 355.⁷³ The R.C.R. advanced with "A" Company left and "B" Company right, "A" Company passing through the forward defended localities of the Ulster Rifles. Neither company encountered any opposition, and within two hours the battalion was on its objectives, the feature above Chommal and the height east of Naeoch'on. The P.P.C.L.I. began its advance on the right of the brigade's front at the same time as the R.C.R. It also had two companies up. "D" Company on the left, advanced on Mangun-ni, passed through it, and seized the feature 500 yards to the north. "A" Company, on the right, advanced to the feature east of Kamagol, while "B" Company cleared the ridge running north from Sogu-ri and relieved "D" Company (Major Swinton) which then moved across the next valley to take Hill 187, the battalion's main objective. This feature was held by the enemy, and it took two hours of fighting to reach the top. Lieutenant C. E. S. Curmi's No. 10 Platoon led the final assault. The enemy stayed in his dugouts and fought back and in the resulting melee Curmi and one of his section commanders were wounded. Twenty-eight Chinese were killed in this action and four surrendered. "D" Company lost one man killed and six wounded. It had been a well-fought battle. Meanwhile "A" Company set out to relieve the Shropshire company on Hill 210, and "B" Company of the P.P.C.L.L passed through "B" Company 2nd R.C.R. east of Naeoch'on, to capture the height immediately north of the R.C.R. company.

With the capture of Hill 187 by the P.P.C.L.I., Phase II of Operation "Commando" was complete. The Shropshires had entered on Phase III, having established themselves on Hill 227, and the 25th Brigade began in turn to make the advances required for Phase III. In the R.C.R. sector, "C" Company passed through "D" on Hill 187 and seized the height 500 yards north-east of Hamurhan by late afternoon of the 4th. It did not encounter any enemy troops during its advance, but it was heavily shelled by enemy artillery, presumably controlled from Hill 166, west of the valley. At the same time "B" Company, which had been relieved on the Naeoch'on feature by the Patricias' "B" Company, began to advance along the spur toward the hill mass north-west of Ochon. The company came under fire from its objective, and had difficulty in extricating its leading platoon.

The successful withdrawal of this platoon was made possible by the accuracy of the covering artillery fire provided with great gallantry by Lieutenant M. T. O'Brennan, an artillery observation officer with "B"

Company. While pushing forward to a better view of the enemy positions, his wireless operator was killed and he himself was wounded, but he continued to direct the fire of his battery until evacuated as a stretcher case. His devotion to duty was an important factor in the success of the company's withdrawal and he was awarded the Military Cross. After his officer had been evacuated, Lance-Bombardier F. M. Dorman took over, and won the Military Medal by continuing to pass fire orders under very heavy enemy mortar and machine-gun fire. Private W. D. Pugh, a signaller of "B" Company, went forward from the company's firm base when the wireless operator with the company commander was wounded. Recovering the set and the aerial under heavy fire, he re-established the communications necessary to the direction of the tank and mortar fire. For the outstanding devotion to duty which he showed, Private Pugh too was awarded the M.M.

Corporal E. W. Poole, the N.C.O. in charge of the "B" Company stretcher bearers, was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal for the courage which he displayed while evacuating the wounded. The first casualties, in particular, were struck down among thick underbrush on steep slopes. Poole searched them out under heavy fire, his disregard for his own safety enabling him to save the lives of at least five men.

In the meantime the P.P.C.L.I. had also been advancing.⁷⁴ "C" Company worked its way along the ridge from Hill 187 to the heights 800 yards west and "A" Company set out for Hill 159. At this point the resistance which the R.C.R. had encountered and the lateness of the day caused the advance to be suspended. "B" Company 2nd R.C.R. was brought back into line, and "A" Company 2nd P.P.C.L.I. was stopped short of its objective. Thus, at the end of 4 October the forward line of the brigade ran north-east from the heights above Hamurhan. To the left of the brigade's front, the Royal Ulsters had gained all their objectives without difficulty.

On 5 October the advance was resumed. "B" Company 2nd R.C.R. occupied the feature north-west of Ochon after it had been reported clear by a patrol of scouts and snipers; "B" Company 2nd P.P.C.L.I. dug in on Hill 159, and "A" Company secured the heights 800 yards south-west of Sanjom-ni. When the R. 22e R. relieved the Royal Ulsters, all three battalions of the brigade were forward.

Thus, late in the afternoon of 5 October, the 25th Brigade was on line "Jamestown", with the 1.2th R.O.K. Regiment on the left and the Shropshires on the right. Before the brigade lay a valley through which flowed an un-named tributary of the Sami-ch'on, its western edge dominated by Hills 166 and 156. The Royal 22e overlooked a broad level plain, but the Royal Canadian Regiment and, to a greater extent, the Patricias, were separated from the enemy by a much narrower defile. In addition "B" Company of the Patricias was well ahead of the Shropshires' company to its right, an inviting target for any counter-attack.

Phase III of Operation "Commando" did not finish so easily or so

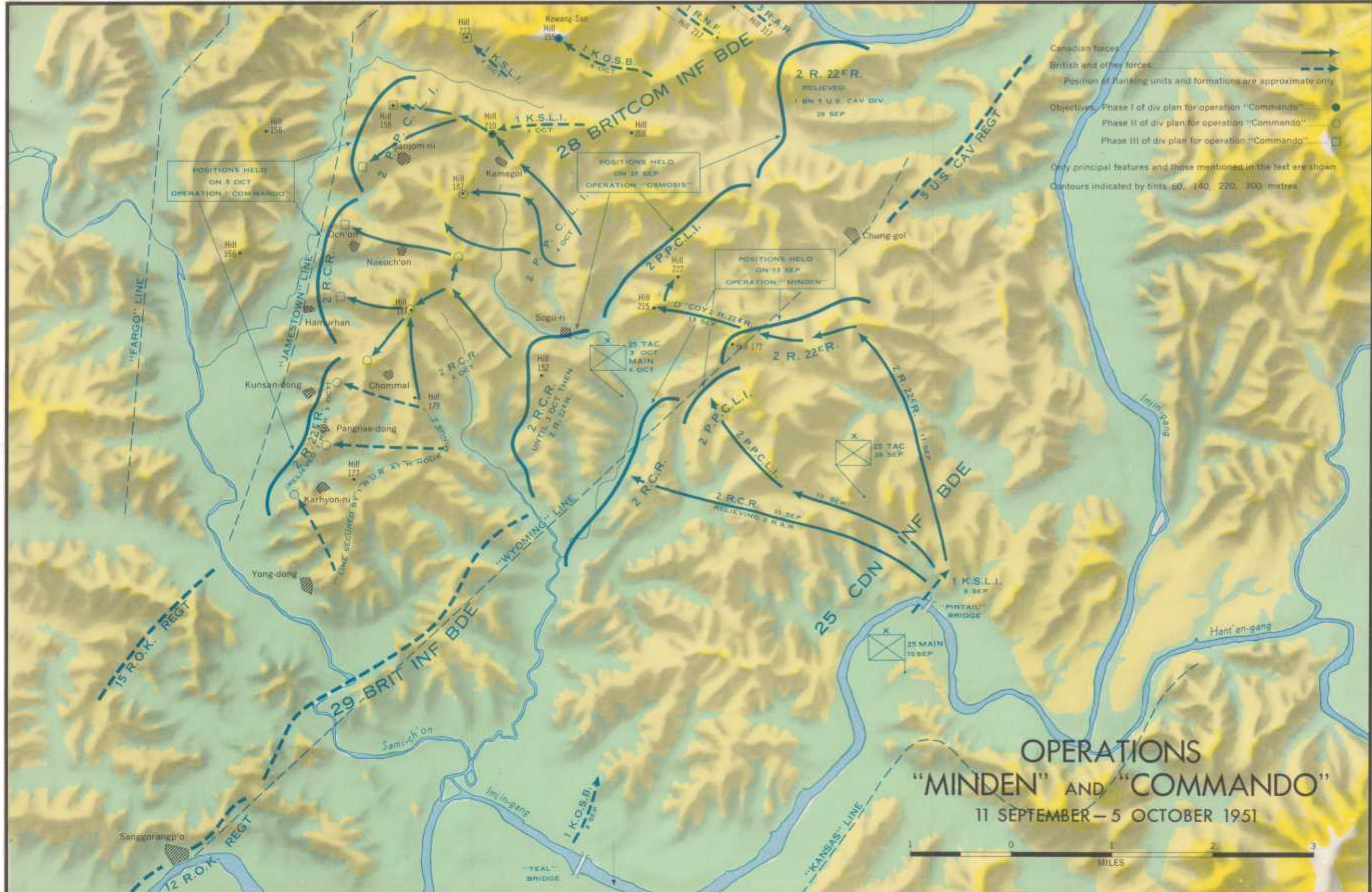
quickly on the front of the 28th Brigade. Here all efforts on the 5th were devoted to the capture, by the 1st Royal Northumberland Fusiliers, of Hill 217, while the Australians fought for Hill 317. Both units succeeded in capturing their objectives, but the Fusiliers were thrown off Hill 217 by an enemy counter-attack just before last light. Next day the attack on Hill 217 was resumed. Once again the Fusiliers succeeded in getting on it, but were again forced to withdraw. On 8 October, however, the unit occupied the hill without contact, the enemy having apparently withdrawn during the night.⁷⁵

With the capture of Hill 217, the Commonwealth Division's part in Operation "Commando" was completed. It had not been achieved without cost; the casualties totalled 58 killed and 262 wounded.⁷⁶ The Canadians, with 4 killed and 2.8 wounded, had escaped lightly.⁷⁷

On 8 October, then, the division lay on the "Jamestown" line between the Sami-ch'on and the Imjin river. It held a front of approximately 21,000 yards, with seven battalions in the front line, one battalion in a back-stop position and one battalion in reserve. Major-General Cassels considered that a larger reserve would have been desirable but found it impossible to reduce the number of units in the front line without leaving unacceptable gaps. As it was, the forward battalions were very thin on the ground. In short, the G.O.C. believed that the division was not capable of holding a large-scale enemy offensive.⁷⁸ Lines "Wyoming" and "Kansas" lay behind the division, the latter extensively developed during a long period of occupation. In the tortured landscape ahead, the enemy main line was much closer than it had been previously, and the newly-won hills, less precipitous than the division had previously experienced, could be attacked much more easily.

This successful pressure on the Chinese line had been duplicated elsewhere along the U.N. front and on 25 October the negotiators renewed the talks, this time at Panmunjom, a shattered village some six miles east of Kaesong, protected at night by a great searchlight whose vertical, stationary beam could be seen for miles. This time there was more progress, and a cease-fire line was agreed to along the actual line of contact. This represented a concession by the Communists who had previously insisted on the 38th parallel, but 1951 ended with the prospects of an actual cease-fire as poor as ever, with the negotiators deadlocked over the methods to be used to supervise an armistice and the repatriation of prisoners of war.

Success in these autumn battles had an effect on the Commonwealth troops out of all proportion to the territorial gains. The Commonwealth Division emerged from them with a sense of cohesion and esprit-de-corps that carried all its elements through the gruelling defensive fighting that lay ahead. Under the firm, cheerful and imaginative guidance of successive British commanders, the division achieved a remarkable degree of homogeneity. A formidable fighting force of over 20,000 all ranks, it remained



Canadian forces →
 British and other forces →
 Position of flanking units and formations are approximate only
 Objectives: Phase I of div plan for operation "Commando" ●
 Phase II of div plan for operation "Commando" ○
 Phase III of div plan for operation "Commando" □
 Only principal features and those mentioned in the text are shown
 Contours indicated by tints: 60, 140, 220, 300 metres

**OPERATIONS
 "MINDEN" AND "COMMANDO"**
 11 SEPTEMBER - 5 OCTOBER 1951



Derived from the Army Grouse Fatschlichman D P 2

to the end of hostilities a key formation along the line of hills defending the 38th parallel.

CHAPTER X

1951 IN RETROSPECT

Administrative Developments

THE CHINESE advances of late 1950 and early 1951 had forced changes in the administrative arrangements of the Commonwealth forces, and the British base at Taegu (less a small advanced headquarters) was moved to Kure, Japan.

The Kure area, on the southern tip of the main Japanese island of Honshu, included Hiroshima and had been garrisoned by the Australian contingent of the Occupation Forces. Since barracks, warehouses and base facilities were available there, it was the natural Japanese base for the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, the decision to move the base to Japan was often criticized later; where the Commonwealth base had once been too far forward, it was now too far back and created a transportation problem.¹ From a purely British point of view, however, Kure was better than any Korean port. The formation of a Commonwealth Division demanded a main base nearer than Singapore (which had served in this capacity in the early months of the Korean war) and a base in Kure, where experienced labour and better conditions prevailed, permitted supplies to be sent direct from Britain. In addition, the Kure establishment was at this time financed largely by Japan as a cost of occupation.

Some idea of the complexities of the supply problem faced by the commander and staff of the British Commonwealth Base may be gathered from the following extract taken from the administrative plan:

- (a) Stocks . . . will be held as follows:—
 - (i) Rations for the Force less Canadian and Indian troops.
 - (ii) In addition, tea, sugar, milk and rum on the “extra” scale for Canadian troops.
- (b) United States is providing fresh rations less bread for the Force in Korea.
- (c) Bread is provided by the British Commonwealth Field Bakery for the Force in Korea less Canadian and Indian troops.
- (d) United States is providing all rations less extra tea, sugar, milk and rum, for Canadian troops in Korea.
- (e) India is providing rations for the Indian troops.
- (f) That portion of the Force stationed in Japan will be rationed from Australia Pacific Ration Scale (Fresh) with such variations as may be authorized by H.Q., B.C.F.K. with the concurrence of component commanders concerned. Australia will be responsible for the maintenance of stocks in Japan other than composite ration packs for that portion of the force rationed by them on demand by B.C.F.K. in accordance with paras. 11 and 12.
- (g) The United Kingdom is to provide rations (tinned equivalents as necessary) for United Kingdom, Australian and New Zealand troops in Korea and will be re-

sponsible for the maintenance of stocks of rations for such forces in accordance with scalings laid down in paras. 11 and 12 above.

- (h) Tea, sugar and milk are to be provided by Australia.
- (j) Hospital comforts for the force are to be provided by Australia.²

When it was announced in Ottawa that the balance of the 25th Brigade would be sent to Korea and a Commonwealth Division formed, the small Canadian administrative unit supporting the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. had to plan for Canadian participation in an enlarged Commonwealth base operation. Its C.O., Major E. G. Brooks, had returned to Canada at the end of February and Lieutenant-Colonel Crue was posted from the Military Mission to take his place. On 3 May Brigadier Rockingham arrived in Pusan and with Crue and a British representative worked out a plan.³

The Canadian Units in Japan

The result was a large build-up of Canadian base units in Japan during 1951. The big period of growth was in the late spring, coinciding with the arrival of the 25th Brigade. Throughout 1950, the only Canadian unit in Japan had been Brigadier Fleury's Military Mission. In April of 1951, however, No. 2 Canadian Movement Control Group (Major E. A. C. Reynolds) was sent to supervise the movement to Kure of the base units that would support the brigade group. By mid-May they had arrived and were functioning. The largest was the 25th Canadian Reinforcement Group and its Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Corbould, assumed the role of Senior Canadian Officer in the area. No. 2 Administrative Unit (commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel T. H. Carlisle until his replacement, Lieutenant-Colonel R. M. Campbell, arrived in June), an ordnance liaison group, a postal unit and a base signal troop completed the Canadian formations in Japan. In June, when the organization of the Commonwealth Division was imminent, a Canadian contribution to the British Commonwealth Hospital arrived, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel J. E. Andrew. In August of 1951, when Brigadier Fleury returned to Canada, command of the Canadian Military Mission passed for the time being to Brigadier J. P. E. Bernatchez; the new commander, Brigadier A. B. Connelly, took over in November.⁴

The British had asked for a Canadian transport platoon (usually five sections) for the Forward Maintenance Area in Korea, but only three sections were supplied – the ones which had supported the Patricias. The rest of that battalion's increment left Pusan for Kure on 12 August, Crue going to Headquarters, British Commonwealth Forces in Korea (as the base was called), as Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General.

The administrative units of the Commonwealth were under the direction and control of a headquarters headed by an Australian Lieutenant-General with the misleading title of Commander-in-Chief British Com-

monwealth Forces Korea. A survival from occupation arrangements, the C.-in-C. was in reality concerned solely with non-operational and administrative matters, while acting as the link between Commonwealth Chiefs of Staff and the American Commander-in-Chief of U.N. Forces. At the time the base in Japan was being enlarged and re-organized, the incumbent was Lieutenant-General Sir Horace Robertson. In November of the same year he was replaced by Lieutenant-General W. Bridgeford who held the appointment until February 1953, when Lieutenant-General H. Wells took over.⁵ This administrative system, complicated by national requirements, was unusually complex and one British historian has pointed out that it worked largely by good will.⁶

In October it was decided to pull the Canadian troops in the base and along the "pipeline" of supply into a tighter organization and they were grouped for administrative and disciplinary purposes under Crue in an organization named the Canadian Section, Line of Communication and Base Troops, British Commonwealth Forces in Korea. In due course Crue's responsibilities were widened as a Canadian increment for a convalescent depot, a leave unit and a welfare adjunct were organized.

Financial problems complicated planning. In a report on logistics prepared some years after the campaign, Lieutenant-Colonel Crue painted the picture.

The unfavourable position of the sterling pound in relation to American dollars created a situation whereby costs [to the British] must be borne in sterling. A financial adviser in rank of Brigadier, with a large staff . . . scrutinized every expenditure. The British and Australians were placed on static accounting . . . this made necessary excessive numbers of accounting personnel. The British viewpoint was diametrically opposed to the Canadian. Canada's policy was to conserve manpower, placing financial restrictions as a secondary consideration. The U.K. and Australia . . . in many cases provided officers and men to do jobs the Americans would be only too pleased to do for them. Rather than spend American dollars, additional manpower was committed.⁷

Since Canadian reinforcements were to be held in Japan until needed in Korea, arrangements had to be made to keep them in training. The camp at Kure was a barracks on the edge of a town; little realistic training could be done there. There was a Commonwealth training unit at Haramura (a village in the hills about 25 miles north-east of Kure), but it was organized to train leaders in specialized courses. It had no accommodation for general reinforcements in need of ranges and field firing areas. Finally, after discussing the problem with the American occupation authorities, a training area at Nipponbara was arranged for. This was a large field firing range over one hundred miles away, but Rockingham and Fleury decided that it was ideal for their purpose.⁸ One of the first officers sent to supervise the training at Nipponbara has recorded his impressions of the special nature of its problems:

The training undertaken at Nipponbara progressed from individual . . . to company tactical training . . . to condition reinforcements for the mountain type of warfare

they would be subjected to. The “fleshpots” in Hiro, unfortunately ... were mobile and used to arrive with each draft. However, unofficially and with an understanding between the Civilian Police and medical authorities, an undesirable Japanese female did not remain very long in Nipponbara. This procedure would, no doubt, be shocking to some who did not understand the conditions . . . but this was the only practical solution.⁹

Keeping soldiers fit to fight in postwar Japan was not, however, the only problem. For while conditions were deliberately left primitive (only tented accommodation was provided) there were special problems. A well had to be dug for a water supply and the only storage for vegetables was an improvised root cellar. Medical care was handled by a Japanese doctor from a nearby town, while much of the labour required was “indigenous” and female; a tent had to be provided for breast feeding of babies on a roster basis. No provost were available; close liaison was necessary with the civilian police. Detention of persistent offenders had an old fashioned flavour about it. The only way of preventing escape into the anonymity of the Japanese countryside was by securing sentenced soldiers to large pieces of structural steel left over from a dismantled observation tower.¹⁰ The reinforcements training under these conditions must have welcomed the move to the front.

Aside from the training camps in the hills, the barracks and offices occupied by Canadians were located on the edge of overcrowded towns, containing large floating populations which had profited from the Occupation in the only way open to them – by doing business of all kinds with the occupying troops. The temptations were many and exotic and some of the healthy young soldiers in Canadian reinforcement and base units were all too apt to trade equipment, food and clothing for the delights of Hiro and Kure. Inevitably, many ran foul of the Japanese police, but the greatest problem facing the Canadian commanding officers was a practice that developed of contracting marriages according to Japanese laws and setting up after-duty house-keeping in Japanese accommodation. This practice in itself was not so much frowned on as were the consequences that flowed from it. No provision had been made for such marriages and no marriage allowances or dependents’ benefits had been provided for. As a result, a soldier who found himself in this position was often tempted to trade military stores for living expenses. When it became apparent in Ottawa that this was a problem requiring solution, enquiries were made in Washington to find out what U.S. service regulations had to say on this matter. In a wire dispatched from Canadian Army Staff on 26 April 1951, the American position was outlined:

U.S. service regulations provide for the movement of dependants ... exception to the above is in the case of orientals. Because of strange marriage customs and other reasons, service authorities do not recognize marriage with orientals as being legal. Consequently any serviceman who marries an oriental must transport her to USA at own expense.¹¹

This solution did not appeal to the authorities in Ottawa in spite of the fact that it was pointed out by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of No. 2 Canadian Administrative Unit in Kure that "a religious marriage ceremony has no legal significance in Japanese law". All that was required was for the girl's family to agree to the union and to enter the facts concerning the marriage in the family register maintained at the offices of the municipalities where they were domiciled. Further, in 1951, no peace treaty had been signed with Japan and all Japanese nationals were considered to be enemy aliens. This situation complicated the immigration aspects of permitting Japanese war brides to accompany their husbands back to Canada at rotation time. However these and other obstacles were gradually cleared away; the Judge Advocate General was quick to point out that since this type of marriage was performed according to the laws of the country, there was no question as to its legality.

In order to prevent undesirable Japanese girls returning to Canada as the wives of soldiers, regulations were authorized which prohibited the payment of marriage allowance or transportation costs unless permission to marry was granted by the Commanding Officer and a five-month waiting period agreed to. Only 68 soldiers availed themselves of this ruling.¹² It would appear that the less formal relationship, which carried with it no undertaking to bring the girl home, better suited the requirements of the situation in which the troops found themselves.

The Rotation Question

The 25th Brigade had not been long in action before the question of rotation of troops became urgent. Both the U.S. and Britain had established policies which took into account the hardships of the Korean winter; individuals in American battle formations were rotated every six months while the British, in general, required the troops to serve not more than one winter in the theatre.¹³ The 2nd Patricias had served one winter and in December 1951 would have been in Korea a year. Furthermore, over 4,000 of the Canadians in the theatre were serving under the Special Force enlistment term of eighteen months which would expire in February 1952. A morale problem appeared to be in the making unless a clear rotation policy could be announced to the troops. The problem of rotating the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. was solved in July 1951 when the C.G.S. directed that the 1st Patricias, the paratroop battalion of the Regiment, would relieve the unit in Korea. In order to maintain the airborne element in the Mobile Striking Force, volunteers from the 2nd Battalion for parachute training would be flown back to Canada beginning in September. The first group would total 50 and thereafter 25 would be dispatched each week until a total of 150 all ranks had made the trip. The 1st Battalion was to begin dispatching formed companies to Korea in October.

This method worked well and the rotation policy hardened into a system that limited service in Korea to twelve months, with replacement by unit or sub-unit as far as possible. The Brigade Commander was given leeway of one month plus or minus the twelve to cope with individual cases.¹⁴

The Welfare Controversy

In both World Wars, Canadian Army welfare facilities were provided by civilian organizations known collectively as Auxiliary Services. This arrangement was intended to relieve the military administrative machine of the burden of supplying “comforts” to the troops. But from 1942 onward the Auxiliary Services became increasingly dependent on government funds, until by 1945 grants totalled \$41,000,000. Auxiliary Service organizations maintained five separate headquarters in Canada, five in England and four on the Continent, resulting in much unnecessary duplication, competition and even some friction. Supervisors maintained their civilian status and felt themselves to be principally responsible to their parent organizations. Much good work was done but there were uneven performances at times. As a result the shortlived Canadian Army Pacific Force of 1945, had it gone to the Far East, would have been accompanied by a purely military organization for welfare. In 1949 the Defence Council decided that the armed services would be “wholly responsible for the control, supervision and distribution of welfare facilities abroad, afloat and within fixed service installations in Canada”.¹⁵

Early in the Korean conflict the Canadian Red Cross Society offered to provide similar assistance to that furnished in the past by Auxiliary Services.¹⁶ The Adjutant General, while glad to get Red Cross help for the sick and wounded, feared that acceptance of the whole offer would make it “difficult for the service [i.e., the Army] to provide welfare services of their own” and would lead to “interminable discussion with the other auxiliary services organizations”.¹⁷ On the other hand, if in asserting its independence the Army failed to provide the expected standard of welfare, “we shall have these four organizations [Canadian Legion, Knights of Columbus, Salvation Army, Y.M.C.A.] saddled on us before we know where we are”.¹⁸

Until April 1952, when a “Co-ordinator of Welfare Services Far East” (a major) was appointed, the welfare organization consisted of a Staff Captain (Welfare) at Brigade Headquarters, and a welfare officer for each infantry battalion, the artillery regiment and the reinforcement unit in Japan.* The other field units were treated collectively. No vehicles were “especially earmarked for welfare purposes”, but some were added to unit establishments “with welfare in mind”.¹⁹ Initially, the Staff Captain (Welfare)

*Nominally the Assistant Quartermaster.

was for some months Co-ordinator as well. Later an officer was appointed to fill this post and worked at Kure, Japan, with the Canadian Section, L. of C. and Base Troops.²⁰

That the Department had in fact created its own welfare services and had not taken a negative attitude on the subject was appreciated only gradually. The feeling in at least one unit in June 1951 was that the “failure to employ auxiliary services organizations” had left a void not being filled under the existing system, and the combination of welfare with other military duties would “not produce desired results”.²¹ According to an. A.G. Branch representative (Lieutenant-Colonel D. S. F. Bult-Francis) who visited the theatre in July, welfare of Canadian origin was “conspicuous by its absence” while that provided from the British Navy, Army and Air Force Institute and U.S. sources was “good but inadequate”.²²

Magazines from Canada were long out of date on arrival. Brigade Headquarters recommended that such material should be sent by air and consigned to the Brigade Welfare Officer; any other means was very slow, and also subject to looting.* Certain pocket books could be purchased from a NAAFI mobile library, but very little writing paper had, been received from Canada: Bult-Francis recommended a scale of twenty sheets and five envelopes per week. In the field, American rations included free toothpaste, shaving cream, matches, some writing paper, and twenty cigarettes per man per day.²³ Additional cigarettes, American and British, were available at low cost, as was American or Australian beer (the latter made in Japan).²⁴ A common though not serious complaint was the lack of Canadian-made items, especially cigarettes and beer.† Certain items such as playing cards and cribbage boards were simply not available, though purchase from Hong Kong and Singapore could be arranged through NAAFI. (This arrangement was recommended as more economical than purchase in Canada.)²⁵

On “terms agreeable to both parties” – no charge – the brigade regularly received films from American sources.²⁶ In addition, British movies were supplied by a divisional film library. Unfortunately many of the Canadian projectors had broken down and more spare parts were needed.²⁷ There was not, as yet, any Canadian “live” entertainment.††

Under the Eighth U.S. Army’s “R & R” (rest and recreation) scheme, Canadians were eligible, during their tour of duty, for two periods of five clear days leave in Tokyo, and most got at least one. They were flown there and back in U.S. aircraft. Accommodation and meals were available at the Ebisu leave centre, maintained by the British Commonwealth (predomi-

*Lt.-Col. Belt-Francis extended this recommendation to all goods “whenever possible”.

†There were, however, occasional much-appreciated gifts of Canadian cigarettes and, later, beer from Canadian companies.

†† A brigade concert party (the “Maple Leafs”) was formed later, but did not survive the first general rotation. Civilian concert parties and army bands were to visit the theatre in 1952-54.

nantly Australian) Occupation Force, though the brighter lights of downtown Tokyo proved more attractive to many. The standard of discipline among Canadians on R & R was very low in the early days, but later compared quite favourably with other Commonwealth troops. In Korea, however, there was at first “no centre where men can get the type of rest and relaxation required.” A rest centre of sorts existed in Seoul, “but it takes at least three hours driving over ghastly ‘roads’ to get there”. Once there, the soldier found himself “in a half-gutted city with only other brassed-off soldiers as companions” and little to do but get into trouble. “Result – the man returns to his unit dirtier and more brassed-off than when he left . . .”²⁸ By mid October another Commonwealth leave centre had been set up at Inch’on, where some forty Canadians at a time might spend three days. Entertainment included films and live shows, tennis and boating.²⁹

Some “snap” observations on welfare by A. R. Menzie, Head of the Canadian Liaison Mission in Japan, underline some of the problems. Visiting Korea from 12 to 17 October 1951, Mr. Menzies found that:

The Canadian soldier . . . because the Canadian standard of living is about the same as the American . . . thinks he should have every comfort that the American soldier gets. And because of his nationalism, he looks for a ‘Made in Canada’ label on everything regardless of the administrative efficiency or economy that result in ‘feeding off’ the American or British supply line.³⁰

Ironically enough, as the welfare situation showed improvement, the volume of complaints increased! The House of Commons seemed more concerned about the morale of soldiers’ families and secondary aspects of the welfare programme, and one member went so far as to appeal to the troops “publicly through this house” to keep up the spirits of their families by “frequent and regular letter writing”.³¹ Brigadier Rockingham, showing a certain lack of patience with this view, cabled: “Are welfare people taking steps to boost morale of people at home or should we send cigarettes, etc?”³² As for welfare in the field, the same member regretted that the Government “did not or could not see fit” to accept the services of the Canadian Legion, thus leaving the Canadian Brigade “almost entirely dependent for auxiliary services upon those of other forces”.

It is clear that members of parliament, churchmen and newspaper editors seemed to equate “welfare” with “auxiliary services” and the notion persisted that the Department had first decided to dispense with welfare and was now dragging its feet. Continuing criticism of the welfare programme took two main forms. Some M.Ps. called for a return to the auxiliary services concept, while others charged that the present system was not being properly implemented.

Mr. Clarence Gillis, member for Cape Breton South, agreed that there was “a necessity for the Minister to check up on welfare facilities . . . in Korea”,³³ a sentiment echoed by Mr. E. D. Fulton, Kamloops, B.C.:

Now that this controversy has arisen . . . I think it would be most advisable for the

Minister to make the special effort necessary to get to Korea, even if only for a short visit, in order to see for himself what the position is and what the feeling of the troops is Unless something like that is done, there is bound to be left with the troops the feeling that the matter has not received sufficiently thorough consideration.³⁴

This suggestion was passed as a motion. Parliament prorogued on 29 December 1951 and Mr. Claxton arrived in Korea on the 31st with a large party which included the Minister of Veterans Affairs, the Chairman of the Defence Research Board, the Judge Advocate General, the Director of Public Relations and five members of the Press. The party toured the brigade area and base installations for four days, returning to Canada on 3 January 1952. Mr. Claxton reported on this visit in April 1952:

It had been suggested in Canada, generally by people who had never been in Korea, that we should have auxiliary civilian services to help look after the needs of the brigade at the front. Members of our party made it a special point to discuss this suggestion....There was general agreement that it was neither practical nor useful. ...³⁵

The Minister went on to say that eight Red Cross workers had left for Japan to look after the sick and wounded in hospital. Mr. Claxton's remarks were generally confirmed by the press representatives who had accompanied him to Korea and the furore over welfare subsided.

It would be well at this point to note that many students of military affairs have questioned the desirability of such emphasis on welfare. As Richard Glover has written, "the efficiency of troops may be damaged by the amount of comfort and sheer, debilitating luxury masquerading as 'welfare' which statesmen may think it a political necessity to inflict upon their armies". He goes on to quote Field Marshal Rommel to the effect that the best form of welfare for the troops is a superlative state of training.³⁶ Few field commanders would disagree with this.

Ancillary Units of the Special Force

Included in the order of battle for the C.A.S.F. were a number of administrative units, which, although they performed useful functions, never actually left the North American continent. Among these was No. 1 Canadian Medical Liaison Detachment. Formed on 2 April 1951, with a strength of two officers and six other ranks, this detachment was located at Madigan Army Hospital in Fort Lewis, and was concerned only with the documentation of Canadian casualties passing through Madigan Hospital.³⁷

No. 1 Canadian Movement Control Group began its task of documenting Canadians and co-operating with the U.S. Army staff at the Port of Seattle on 16 October 1950. By November 1950 it had a strength of six officers and 21 other ranks. As the flow of stores, equipment and troops for dispatch to Korea began to mount they became increasingly busy, and they were frequently called on to handle unanticipated tasks. An entry in the War Diary for January 1951 reads, "advice received that a homicidal ma-

niac will be coming through from Far East. Arrangements to be made for onward despatch.” In addition to the unit in Seattle there was also a detachment in Vancouver to control the traffic there.³⁸

No. 1 Canadian Base Post Office was activated in Vancouver on 11 October 1950. On the first of November the Canadian Postal Corps, no units of which had been retained in the post-war Regular Army, was reactivated and all those soldiers who were engaged in postal duties were transferred to it from the R.C.A.S.C. The first task of the unit in Vancouver was to arrange mail shipments to the P.P.C.L.I. in Korea, but with the arrival of the 25th Brigade in the spring of 1951, its staff was increased and its role expanded. This small but vital unit continued to function smoothly throughout the Korean experience.³⁹

“G” Battery, Royal Canadian Horse Artillery was the only operational unit in the C.A.S.F. that never saw service.* The battery was to be a self-accounting, self-administered unit under command of 2nd R.C.H.A., charged with holding and training artillery reinforcements. On 18 January it had a strength of seven officers and 143 other ranks, but drafts to the 2nd R.C.H.A. and No. 25 Canadian Reinforcement Group had reduced it to a strength of 15 all ranks by 30 March.⁴⁰ Its role was thereafter assumed by the 1st R.C.H.A. until that regiment in turn proceeded to Korea.

25 Canadian Infantry Brigade Replacement Group

As described in an earlier chapter, the first unit of the future 25 C.I.B.R.G., the 3rd P.P.C.L.I., was formed on 30 November 1950, out of the reinforcements enlisted for the 2nd Battalion. The unit was very much under strength at first, but two large drafts from Calgary brought it up to a strength of 955 all ranks by 3 January 1951. The decision to send the 25th Brigade to Korea and the consequent necessity of supplying reinforcements to the second battalion and returning troops to No. 25 Canadian Reinforcement Group so reduced the unit’s strength that by the end of March it was almost impossible to carry on with training.⁴¹

The next unit formed was the 3rd R. 22e R. which came into existence on 7 January 1951, followed on 10 January by the 3rd R.C.R.⁴² These units, too, suffered from the change in plan. With the continual turnover of rank and file, the lack of trained N.C.Os., and a shortage of vehicles and training aids, it was remarkable that these “battalions” were able to accomplish as much training as they did. In March it was decided to group them, with “G” Battery, R.C.H.A., into a skeleton brigade organization. This or-

*Today’s “G” Battery, R.C.R.A., has no relationship with this “G” Battery which was disbanded on 29 June 1953. The present “G” Battery came into existence on 16 October 1953 when the 79th Field Regiment, R.C.A. was redesignated 3rd Regiment, R.C.H.A.

ganization, to be commanded by Brigadier W. J. Megill, would be designated 25 Canadian Infantry Brigade Replacement Group and during the period 7 to 17 April it would take over from Brigadier Rockingham all those units of the 25th Brigade not going to Korea. The C.G.S., in discussions with General Collins of the U.S. Army, reached an agreement whereby the Canadians could keep accommodation for 4,000 at Fort Lewis until 15 May. After that date, it would be necessary to find a new home for 25 C.I.B.R.G. and it was decided to concentrate it, along with the 1st R.C.H.A. and Lord Strathcona's Horse, at Wainwright, Alberta for the summer of 1951.⁴³ The month of April and the early part of May were largely devoted to preparing for this move back to Canada. On 27 March Brigadier Megill arrived at Fort Lewis,⁴⁴ and finally, on 7 May, the main body of the Group entrained for Wainwright, arriving there two days later.⁴⁵

Wainwright Camp is situated about 120 miles east of Edmonton in a sparsely settled region of rolling grassland. It had been a prisoner of war camp during the Second World War, but in 1951 it was suitable only for summer training under canvas. Although it was undoubtedly the best (indeed, the only) choice under the circumstances, it had many serious drawbacks. Accommodation was primitive, its remote location was unpopular with the troops and its links with the outside world (railway and dirt road), were expensive and slow. Then too, in the summer of 1951 the weather was poor and the combination of high winds and frequent rain made life under canvas a trying experience.

The small town of Wainwright, just outside the camp, offered little in the way of diversion, but it was the only place soldiers could go on a short pass, and it was almost inevitable that trouble would result. On 18 June, overzealousness on the part of inexperienced Provost patrolling the town precipitated a minor riot. A mob of about 200 soldiers, attempting to release two companions from the town jail, was charged with making off with band instruments worth \$3,500. The Army incurred some bad publicity but, while never actually admitting responsibility for the incident, had the good sense to make an ex-gratia payment for the loss.⁴⁶

In Fort Lewis it had been decided to carry out training on a section rather than a company basis, due mainly to lack of instructors.⁴⁷ In Wainwright this practice was continued but training was still hampered by local shortages of clothing and equipment,⁴⁸ caused by the steady flow of recruits into the units and the equally steady calls for reinforcement drafts for Korea. As the summer wore on the tempo of training increased, documentation was gradually completed and the recurring demand for drafts for Korea was met. This continual flow of troops in and out of the 3rd Battalions was damaging, both for morale and the standard of training, but was particularly crushing in the case of the Patricias. This unit had been hoping to be chosen to replace the regiment's 2nd Battalion in Korea but in August

the C.O. was notified that the 1st Battalion would go to Korea on rotation and would be brought up to strength with 3rd Battalion soldiers, It was a blow to unit morale to lose out on the overseas adventure and at the same time to be drained of 500 of its best men.⁴⁹

All through August uncertainty was the keynote throughout the Group, for, as has been stated, Wainwright could not be used as a winter station. Army Headquarters, forced to compromise by accommodation shortages, decided to winter the Group in various camps across Canada and between 14 and 22 September its units left Wainwright by train: 3rd R.C.R. for Petawawa, 1st R.C.H.A. for Shilo, 3rd R. 22e R. for Valcartier, 23rd Field Squadron for Chilliwack, the Strathcona squadron to its home station in Calgary, and 3rd P.P.C.L.I. to Camp Borden, Ontario.⁵⁰ On 1 October a new Commander, Brigadier J. E. C. Pangman, moved the headquarters to Edmonton. In Valcartier, the 3rd R. 22e R. acquired a new Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel J. L. G. Poulin, when Lieutenant-Colonel Teller was posted on 15 October to be a member of the Directing Staff of the Canadian Army Staff College.⁵¹ During the winter, the units of the group concentrated on the training of N.C.Os. and junior officers, while preparing reinforcements for Korea. When called for, the drafts were then processed through Edmonton for the Far East.⁵² In October all three battalions supplied troops for guard duty in connection with the visit to Canada of Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip – the R.C.R. in Ottawa, the P.P.C.L.I. in Toronto, and the R. 22e R. in Montreal and Quebec City.⁵³ In December, as their 18-month term was rapidly drawing to a close, all remaining Special Force enlistees were warned for draft.⁵⁴

There was to be one more move in 1951 for the 3rd Patricias. Accommodation at Camp Borden was even more crowded than elsewhere in Canada and the battalion's training and morale were soon suffering.⁵⁵ At one stage it became necessary to have barracks and ablution rooms double as classrooms, and the officers, N.C.Os. and men ate their meals with three different camp units. After a visit by Lieutenant-General Simonds had confirmed the situation however, the unit was moved, on 3 December, to Camp Ipperwash, a "moth-ball" war-time camp near London, Ontario.⁵⁶ Here, accommodation was adequate and the battalion could function as a separate entity.

It is a credit to the officers and N.C.Os. of all the units in the Group that despite uncertainties, the heavy turnover in manpower, numerous moves, and the shortage of equipment, by the end of 1951 the units were not only functioning, but were beginning to resemble trained battalions.

CHAPTER XI

OPERATIONS FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER 1951

The First Autumn Rotation October–November 1951

THE TWO companies of the 1st P.P.C.L.I. which had sailed in September reached Yokohama on 3 October and Pusan on the morning of the 6th. After a dockside breakfast “meager in quantity and horrible in taste”, and a most welcome snack of Red Cross doughnuts and coffee, they boarded a train that was a “conglomeration of the oldest and worst cars in the universe”. The trip to the Tokchong railhead took almost a full day. Vehicles of the Royal Army Service Corps and the 2nd Patricias took the companies on to Sandok, some three thousand yards south-west of the Imjin-Hantan river junction; here, next to their combined “A” and “B” Echelons, the 2nd Battalion had set up a “rotation centre”.¹

While the newly arrived officers spent much of the time forward in the positions they were to take over, the men underwent a special course in American weapons and a programme of route marching to off-set the long sea voyage. Mortarmen received instruction from 2nd Battalion N.C.Os., rocket launcher teams from instructors of their own unit. The programme culminated in a two-day route march (12-13 October) combined with tactical exercises. The Officer Commanding “A” Company, Major E. J. ‘Williams, has recalled the event:

We shall always remember that two-day march. The weather was far hotter than we had been used to. I gave strict orders about when and how much water troops could drink, but one chap knew better than I and collapsed in agony after drinking half his water bottle.... In addition to the heat, the troops were really not used to climbing hills and as a result by the night of 13 October there were several cases of bad footstrain caused by the unaccustomed exercise to the muscles of the feet, shins and calves.²

The two company commanders, Major Williams (“A”) and Major R. E. M. Cross (“C”), afterwards reported back to the 2nd Battalion for final instructions regarding the relief.

Major Cross’s company was to take over from the 2nd Battalion’s “C” Company on Hill 187 and Major Williams’ from “D”, on the right. The relief was carried out in the early daylight hours of the 14th, smoothly and apparently without the enemy’s knowledge. To avoid confusion be-

tween the two "A" Companies, the 1st Patricias' was dubbed "Able Green" and the 2nd's "Able White".³

Members of the outgoing companies who were not yet due for return to Canada changed places with the "eligibles" of "Able White" and Support Companies. "Rotation Group I" – 116 all ranks – left Sandok on trucks, on 16 October. From Seoul the draft was to continue by rail to Pusan and by sea to Kure and Seattle. A fifth party of volunteers for parachute training, 25 strong, followed on the 17th. All "para" drafts crossed the Pacific by air.⁴

Battalion Headquarters, H.Q. Company and "D" Company of the 1st Battalion docked at Inch'on on 30 October. "B" and Support Companies reached Yokohama the following day. On 4 November, at 7:00 a.m., "D" Company took over from the 2nd Patricias' right forward company ("B"). Three hours later the 1st Battalion was in the line officially, with three of its own companies ("A", "C" and "D") backed up by "Able White".⁵

The third and final "flight", having disembarked at Pusan the day before, arrived at the rotation centre on the same day as the main body took over from the 2nd Battalion. The following morning, at 11.00 a.m., 50 members of the 2nd Patricias paraded at Brigade Headquarters in new battle dress with boots and brass gleaming – "A completely different looking group than ... came out of the lines yesterday, tired, rumped, and dirty".⁶ The Army Commander, General. Van Fleet, presented Lieutenant-Colonel Stone with the Presidential Citation in recognition of the unit's stand at Kap'young. The "drums" of the 1st Battalion then marched the party off the levelled rice paddy that served as a parade square. That afternoon, members of both battalions paraded at "B" Echelon, where the camp jack of the 2nd Patricias was ceremonially lowered and replaced by that of the 1st.⁷

For the 2nd Battalion's "A" Company, hostilities ceased appropriately enough on November 11. In the main, 2nd Patricias who still were not eligible for repatriation were either given other employment or else became reinforcements for the 1st Battalion – there was no large-scale transfer from the one unit direct to the other. Thus, as Lieutenant-Colonel N. G. Wilson-Smith of the 1st Patricias was to put it, "the relief was a complete one, with an entire battalion coming in and one going out."⁸

This was the first instance in Canadian experience of one battalion just arrived from Canada taking over from another Canadian battalion in a theatre of operations. So complete a relief would normally have entailed inexperienced troops coming "directly off a boat and into the line", but the Patricias' three-phase method had provided for gradual indoctrination. The changeover was made all the easier by virtue of being an intra-regimental affair. Such minor details as replacing vehicle signs were not necessary and, more important, most of the officers and senior N.C.Os. of both battalions knew one another well. In all, the transition went "very smoothly and amicably".⁹

Operation “Pepperpot”

On 23 October, almost two weeks before its parent unit “officially” entered the line, one company of the 1st Patricias had had a taste of action. The occasion was Operation “Pepperpot”, the Canadian share in a number of raids and feint attacks staged by the Commonwealth Division of that date from their defensive positions on the “Jamestown” line.

The main Canadian objective was Hill 166, supplementary objectives being Hill 156 on the right and an unnamed feature in between. From left to right, the troops taking part were “D” Company of the 2nd R. 22e R. supported by the medium machine-guns and mortars of the 1st Gloucesters and a section of the 57th Field Squadron R.C.E.; the 2nd R.C.R.’s “D” Company with the 1st Royal Leicesters’ M.M.Gs. and mortars in support; and the Patricias’ “Able Green” Company plus an R.C.E. demolition party; each group was further supported by a troop of “C” Squadron, Lord Strathcona’s Horse, firing from advanced positions overlooking the valley. The intention in each case was to destroy Chinese bunkers on the objective and stay there, directing artillery fire on further enemy positions, until ordered back by Brigadier Rockingham.¹⁰ While the raiding groups began moving forward at different times according to the distance to be covered, H Hour for all three was 6:30 a.m.¹¹

The day began clear and cool. The companies crossed the start line – the forward positions of the R.C.R. and P.P.C.L.I. – behind a very heavy and very accurate barrage. All units of the divisional artillery took part in the operation. A “somewhat unique” feature was the employment of the 11th L.A.A. Battery, whose Bofors guns engaged communications trenches on the main objective with “extreme accuracy”.¹²

The R.C.R. company (Captain R. J. O’Dell), advancing under light opposition, was on its objective by 7:30. Against six Chinese killed, eleven wounded and one captured, its own casualties were one killed and four wounded – two of the latter by mortar fire. While the attached pioneer section mined and booby-trapped bunkers and slit trenches, the other two companies continued their advance.¹³ By half-past eight one platoon of the R. 22e R. was a hundred yards from Hill 166 and the Patricias were half-way up 156. Two of Major Williams’ platoons now charged up Hill 156 closely supported by the fire of their tanks, and the Strathcona reserve troop, the shells bursting within 20 yards.¹⁴ Only Hill 166 was still in enemy hands by 9:20.*¹⁵

While the Patricias cleared all bunkers and strong-points on their objective – evidently a company position – the accompanying F.O.O. and mortar fire controller set up an observation post from which to direct fire

* No Canadian ever again penetrated this far into enemy territory-except as a prisoner of war.

on any enemy movement. Shortly after ten, at Williams' request, Lieutenant Colonel Stone sent a platoon of "Able White" company to clear Sohaktong, a village about 400 yards to the south-east. The platoon entered unopposed and rounded up two civilians for questioning.¹⁶

The infantry were now on two of their three objectives, and the artillery and all the Strathcona tanks could now concentrate their fire on Hill 166. This they did, reducing an estimated five enemy machine-guns to one; yet repeated attacks still failed.¹⁷ A further attempt might have been successful, but by noon Brigadier Rockingham considered the object of the operation largely achieved* and accordingly ordered the three companies to return.¹⁹ Major Williams received an American Bronze Star for his part in this raid and his artillery observer, Captain J. E. W. Berthiaume, was awarded The Military Cross.

Artillery, mortars and tanks covered the withdrawal with smoke, though not from the outset.²⁰ Anticipating that the smokescreen would cause the enemy to bring down his defensive-fire tasks, Brigadier Rockingham first ordered H.E. concentrations on hills beyond the objectives. The Chinese may well have believed that further attacks were in preparation; in any case the delay enabled the R. 22e R. and R.C.R. companies to get clear of the Chinese D.F. tasks before these were fired.²¹ The Patricia company, however, suffered ten casualties during the withdrawal. Williams has recalled an incident during the move back:

I had successfully got the two leading platoons away to the rear and was following with company headquarters when the gunners moved the smokescreen back from the top of 156. Pots of 25 pr smoke began raining around the ears of Company Headquarters and I was not pleased to find that in accordance with standard gunner practice one round in four was H.E. I instructed my very gallant FOO, Berthiaume, to get that unprintable stuff off our necks. He sat down in the midst of the mixture of Chinese and Commonwealth artillery fire and lifted the concentration off us by wireless.²²

Operation "Pepperpot" had cost the R. 22e R. a total of seven casualties, the R.C.R. five and the P.P.C.L.I. fourteen. Enemy losses included one prisoner (taken by the R.C.R. group) and 37 counted dead.²³

Chinese Attacks, 2-6 November

Meanwhile, the series of probing attacks which the enemy had begun in mid-October as a reaction to operation "Commando" continued into November. It would appear that the Canadian brigade's opponents were the 568th and 570th Regiments of the 190th Division, part of the Chinese Communist 64th Army – the 568th Regiment attacking while the 570th held the line.²⁴

The first of the enemy's November attacks was directed at the Song-

*Two large dugouts on the untaken objective had been destroyed by tank and artillery fire.¹⁸

gok spur, overlooking the valley of the Sami-ch'on and its eastern tributary. This feature was now held by "A" Company, 2nd R.C.R. and Hill 187 by "C" Company. Between 8:40 and 9:00 p.m. on the 2nd, some 35 Chinese tried, unsuccessfully, to get through the wire between the two companies. The enemy were then sighted in "quite large numbers" around the Songgok feature, where they sent up flares. But they found themselves in an antipersonnel minefield and leaving screaming and moaning casualties behind, they retired to the floor of the valley. A third attack, mounted about halfpast ten, broke down under small-arms and mortar fire.²⁵

At 2:45 next morning the Chinese struck again. This blow fell mainly on a platoon of "A" Company that had already borne the brunt of the earlier attacks. Although short of ammunition and greatly reduced by casualties, the platoon fought an orderly and most effective delaying action.* The enemy continued to threaten "A" Company, but after more than an hour had still not attacked its main position.²⁶ Under the fire of the division's artillery they eventually withdrew, leaving behind 35 dead and at least three wounded; one or two Chinese fell into R.C.R. hands unwounded. A reported mass movement of stretcher bearers behind Hill 166 suggested that the enemy's total losses were "far in excess of the number of bodies found".²⁷

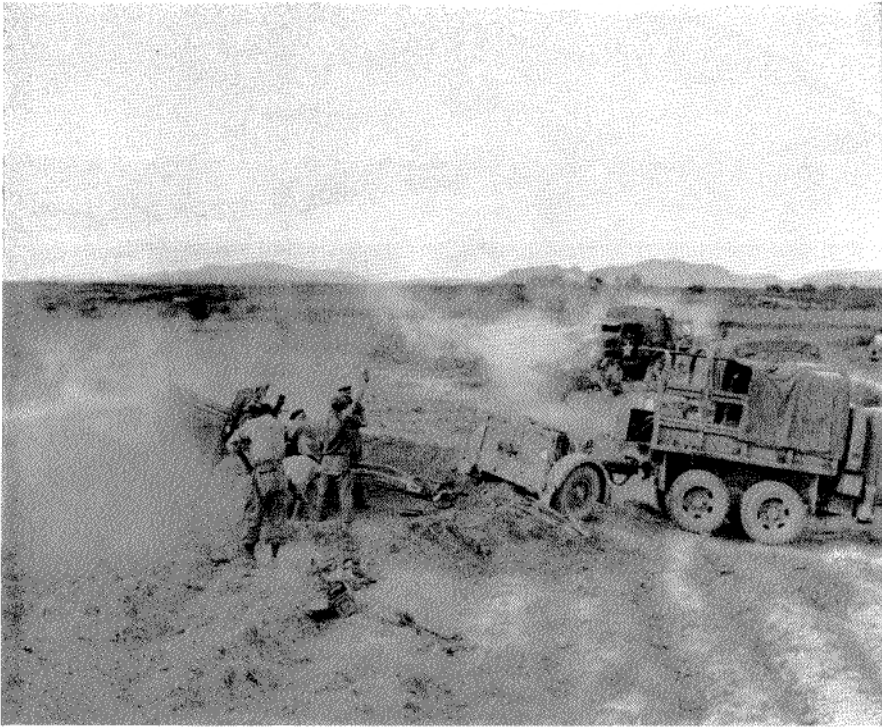
November 4 was marked by extremely heavy shelling of the 28th British Commonwealth Brigade's sector, followed by strong attacks. One of that brigade's "Commando" objectives, Hill 217, fell to the Chinese that evening; another, 317, followed during the night. A British counter-attack on Hill 217 next day failed. Both features in fact were destined to remain in enemy hands.

Part of the battle, which lasted four days, seemed to spill over on the Canadian sector.²⁸ Returning from the Patricias' handover ceremony of 5 November, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson-Smith found the first battalion's "D" Company (Major J. H. B. George) under attack. "D" Company occupied a star-shaped feature on the boundary with the 28th Brigade, the contours of which made it necessary to defend it with one platoon forward and two back. Mortar fire had started to fall on the company area at 2:20 p.m., becoming heavy at four o'clock. By half-past four, shells as well as mortar bombs were falling on "D" Company and both "Ables",† though "D"

*For his "superb courage and outstanding leadership" the platoon commander, Lieut. E. J. Mastronardi, received the Military Cross.

†As we have seen, the 2nd Patricias' "A" Company was to remain with the 1st Battalion until 11 November.

Company remained the principal target. At six o'clock enemy flat-trajectory guns and howitzers joined in the bombardment, and ten minutes later Chinese infantry were seen forming up across the valley under the cover of machine-gun fire from the northern flank. The attack developed at 6:15.²⁹



P. J. Tomelin

CRASH ACTION

Guns of the 2nd R.C.H.A. in the Ch'orwon area fire in support of the 2nd R.C.R. long range patrol of 21 June 1951.



J.P. MacLean

MISSION ACCOMPLISHED

Captain E.K. Wildfand leads "B" Company, 2nd R.C.R. back from across the Imjin after Operation "Dirk", 14 August 1951.



P. J. Tomelin

ENEMY COUNTRY

Operation "Pepperpot" 23 October 1951. Raiders of "D" Company, 2nd R. 22e R. fire a parting shot before withdrawing to their own positions.



P. J. Tomelin

AFTERMATH

The mortar position of the 2nd R. 22e R. after the Chinese attacks of 24 November 1951. Over 3000 rounds were fired during the night.

This particular attack was largely broken up by artillery and mortar fire, and what remained of it soon melted away under the company's Bren guns and rifles. Enemy activity from approximately half-past six to eight o'clock was limited to sporadic mortaring and shelling. Thanks to Commonwealth 25-pounders and American mediums, a second thrust about 8:15 was broken up. Further artillery fire, supplemented by the Patricias' mortars and machine-guns, was directed with the aid of searchlights.³⁰

Another enemy attack on the Patricias' "D" Company – counted as the second of the evening – roughly coincided with a threatened attack on Hill 227, in the 28th Brigade's sector. The latter, if not just a feint, evidently suffered the same fate at the hands of Commonwealth artillery 'as had the two earlier thrusts against 159. The next attack on the Patricias developed quickly. By 8:45 one section of "D" Company's lone forward platoon (No. 10) had been forced to withdraw, having used up all its ammunition, and the Chinese were trying to encircle the entire company. "Wave after wave charged at "D" Company's wire with bangalore torpedoes and small arms fire," the unit diarist records, "to be beaten off by our small arms and grenades". Some Chinese were believed to be still lurking around as late as 10:00 p.m., but in general all was quiet by that time. The withdrawn section now returned to its position. Meanwhile the company's telephone line, repeatedly broken by shellfire, had been repaired by unit signallers.³¹

The enemy struck again at 1:40 next morning (November 6). An estimated two companies, coming across the valley, attacked No. 10 platoon again, more or less frontally, while a smaller group made a right hook. Despite a great weight of artillery, mortar and machine-gun fire, some Chinese got through the wire of two platoons – only to be stopped by grenades and small arms. After an hour the attack had largely petered out, and by 3:15 all was again quiet.³²

This action was mentioned when Lieutenant J. G. C. McKinley was awarded the Military Cross. At the beginning of the action he had strapped a wireless set on his back and moved about the platoon position, organizing the defence and calling down the fire of the battalion supporting weapons close around his position. For McKinley and his platoon it was only the second night in the line after arriving from Canada.

P.P.C.L.I. casualties were remarkably light – three killed, fifteen wounded – whereas 34 enemy dead were counted. A wounded prisoner, interrogated by the commander of "D" Company pending evacuation through normal medical channels, stated that he was a member of a battalion of the 570th Regiment.* Papers taken from the dead confirmed this. In

*Major George had learned to speak the Mandarin dialect while with the British Military Mission to China during the Second World War. He later stated: "I had spoken with one other Chinese private during my first tour in Korea. Both ... had a very clear, fluent northern dialect, i.e., Mandarin in its best form,"³³

the words of the war diarist,

The enemy had come prepared to stay. Each Chinaman was dressed in his khaki padded-cotton winter dress, and many had padded-cotton jackets rolled on their backs. Each had a Chinese shovel, and carried cloth pouches of loose ammunition, bandoliers and potato-masher type hand grenades. Many rifles, 'burp guns' (SMGs) and two Russian made Degtyarev LMGs were found near the dead....

This, then, was no diversion. The enemy's object had been to seize and hold Hill 159.

Between the last two attacks on Hill 159, Divisional Headquarters had arranged for a radar-guided air strike on the main Chinese positions.³⁴ Similar operations had been carried out elsewhere in Korea and, seven years earlier, in Italy,³⁵ but to the Canadian brigade this type of support was an interesting and encouraging novelty. The bombs did not drop where intended, but closer to the Canadian positions – some started large fires 1,500 yards in front of the 2nd R.C.R. – and thus were “more effective ... another morale booster as troops can now depend on air support at night”.³⁶

On 7 November a group of Patricias who had had special winter training in Canada put on the first of a series of “winter living” demonstrations near Pintail Bridge. These demonstrations were primarily for the benefits of newly arrived British units, but were also watched with great interest by representatives from the 25th Brigade and other formations. So impressed was the Corps Commander, Lieutenant-General J. W. O'Daniel, that he ordered large numbers of American officers to attend.³⁷

One by-product of the Chinese attacks of early November had been repeated postponements of another raid on Hill 166 by elements of the 2nd R. 22e R. This enterprise, known as Operation “Toughy”, was finally carried out on the night of the 9th-10th by “C” Company and the Scout Platoon. The raiding company's position was taken over by an *ad hoc* company – a “Grease Monkey” platoon commanded by the Transport Officer, “Pots and Pans” by the Regimental Sergeant-Major, and so on. “C” Company left its own area at 7:00 p.m., two hours before H Hour, to form up in the valley in front of the R.C.R.³⁸

Two platoons reached intermediate objectives with some difficulty; and on one of these, attached pioneers placed booby-traps. The Scout Platoon eventually made good a subsidiary objective some 500 yards southwest of Hill 166, though not in time for the third rifle platoon to assault 166 itself as planned. An improvised attack by the right forward platoon got to within a hundred yards of the top, but at the same time the Scouts were being heavily counter-attacked on the newly won subsidiary objective. Accordingly, at approximately 1:30 a.m., Brigadier Rockingham instructed Dextraze to withdraw both parties.³⁹

*Radar bombing was perhaps most effective against night movement of troops and supplies. For further details on air support see pages 178-180.

The commander of the right forward platoon reported the dug-outs on Hill 166 as “obviously permanent quarters stocked with food, clothing and ammunition”, while the officer in charge of the Scouts noted that the neighbouring position did not seem to have been affected by our bombing and shelling. The raid cost six casualties, of which two were fatal.⁴⁰

“No Withdrawal, No Panic”

On 22 November the R. 22e R. was relieved by a composite battalion of the 29th British Brigade, and in turn relieved elements of the 28th Brigade on the right of the Canadian brigade. This was part of a general redeployment. Major-General Cassels had felt that a three-brigade front of 21,000 yards was more than the Commonwealth Division could hold against a major offensive. Lieutenant-General O’Daniel therefore decided on an adjustment of divisional frontages that would narrow the Commonwealth sector by some 5,000 yards. Cassels would have preferred to keep Hill 355, which dominated the centre of the 1st U.S. Corps front, within his right boundary – that is, to shorten his line from the left.⁴¹ Instead, however, all such reduction was on the right, Hill 355 passing to the American 3rd Division. The 28th Brigade became divisional reserve, the 25th side-stepped to the right, and the 29th extended itself on both sides of the Samich’on.⁴² “We are now in a good position to give a very good account of ourselves”, the G.O.C. noted in his periodic report, “but the front is still a long one ... and again I am doubtful if we could hold a really large scale offensive, but we can cope with anything else.”

The 2nd R. 22e R.’s new position was on the right of the 1st Patricia’s and the left of the 7th U.S. Infantry Regiment’s 2nd Battalion. Here Lieutenant-Colonel Dextraze expected his men to perform in “a typical ‘Vandoo’s manner” – “no withdrawal, no platoons overrun, and no panic”.⁴³

The rifle companies were in position by 6:30 a.m., 22 November – “B” at the end of the ridge that ran westward from Hill 210, “C” on the northern face of 210, “A” on a finger-like spur pointing at 210 from 355, and “D” Company in the saddle between 355 and 227. The battalion command post had “reopened” on Hill 210 by mid-afternoon, though rain and mud delayed the setting up of the headquarters as a whole.⁴⁴ Captain (Acting Major) Réal Liboiron, commanding “D” Company, found that without Hill 227* the platoon positions he had inherited were much too crowded and lacked mutual support. One of his own platoons was now squeezed into a position originally designed for a section. Some fire positions were of the “hotdog stand” or “sandbag castle” variety – built up instead of dug down, and thus perfect targets for high-velocity weapons. “I intended to

*The 1st King’s Shropshire Light Infantry had lost this position three days before, after a most gallant defence. Having since changed hands three times, it was now no-man’s-land.

readjust the positions at the first opportunity”, Major Liboiron stated, “but as events turned out there was never the time”.⁴⁵

Early that afternoon Chinese shells and rockets began to fall heavily on Hill 355, the bombardment spreading to the R. 22e R. – particularly “D” Company – at half-past three. Sustained shell-fire, much of it by flat trajectory weapons, and rain changing to snow made for a most unpleasant night. A hot sun next day was welcomed by the forward troops but, melting the snow, turned the battalion headquarters area and the roads into it a morass. This at first made almost impossible the 57th Field Squadron’s task of pushing a jeep road around Hill 210 (previously a 1st Norfolk reserve company position) and across the valley to the former K.S.L.I. positions held by “A” and “D” Companies. Meanwhile the R. 22e R. scout platoon was digging-in a tactical headquarters – an enlargement of the existing battalion C.P. – on the top of Hill 210. Both projects went ahead faster as the sun began to dry the mud.⁴⁶

Towards noon the enemy’s artillery stepped up the shelling of the R. 22e R. and the 2nd Battalion, 7th U.S. Regiment, which together with considerable movement of infantry, suggested an early attack on Hill 355. A further increase in shell-fire at 4:20 p.m. pointed to an immediate assault.⁴⁷ In less than ten minutes, pairs of Chinese began to come down over the eastern face of Hill 227 towards Major Liboiron’s left forward platoon. “They were like sitting ducks” – to quote the platoon commander – “and the men shot them two at a time with the greatest of ease.” Other enemy, advancing up 355 towards the American position, presented good: targets to Liboiron’s right forward platoon.⁴⁸

Three quarters of an hour after their first appearance, the Chinese had not yet seriously attacked the saddle position but were still pressing on Hill 355.⁴⁹ Two companies of the 2nd Battalion, 7th Regiment were forced to contract their defences while a third, next to the French-Canadians, had been all but overrun.⁵⁰ “With all means of communication destroyed and platoons fighting independently in hand-to hand combat, the company could not contain the overwhelming assault and was pushed southward from the hill”.⁵¹ According to the battalion’s unit journal (war diary) this withdrawal took place at half-past five.

The 3rd Division policy on holding Hill 355, and indeed all Jamestown positions, was that “nothing less than an impregnable defense” was acceptable.⁵² Nevertheless, foreseeing the possibility that Hill 355 might fall, the commander of the 7th Regiment had already arranged for remedial action by the divisional counter-attack force, 15th Regiment’s 2nd Battalion. In detail, however, the counter-attack plan visualized an enemy penetration elsewhere on the divisional front, with the result that there was much last-minute improvisation. A road which the battalion commander would have preferred to use was too likely to be cut by a further Chinese advance; thus the only feasible approach was cross-country, over a route

that had been only slightly reconnoitred. Not knowing the enemy's exact position, the battalion commander could only order his troops to move westward until they had made contact, the attack to be launched from that point.⁵³

The permanent loss of Hill 355 to the Chinese "would mean their control of the lateral road running through the American sector", the Canadian brigade diarist wrote, "and would make the 1st P.P.C.L.I. and 2nd R. 22e R. positions untenable". Already, with Hill 227 as well as 355 in enemy hands, the R. 22e R. company in the saddle was open to encirclement; and if that happened, "A", on the spur, would be holding an impossible salient.

Continued reports of enemy movements drew fire from all three field regiments of the Commonwealth Division – the 2nd Canadian, 14th British and 16th New Zealand – from Strathcona tank troops attached to the R. 22e R. and P.P.C.L.I., and from R. 22e R. and Patricia's mortars. More distant targets, or targets not accessible to flat-trajectory weapons, were taken on by 4.2 mortars of the 120th Light Battery, R.A.⁵⁴ The good communications with supporting arms that were a feature of Commonwealth Division operations proved to be a highly important factor in the defence of the saddle. There was a mortar fire controller with one platoon of "D" Company and an artillery forward observation officer with another, both platoons being in touch with company headquarters by wireless. Major Liboiron had both wireless and telephone communications with the battalion C.P. and although the telephone wire was cut repeatedly by shelling, it was repaired again and again. To one officer who was with Lieutenant-Colonel Dextraze and his artillery representative, the battalion commander seemed "always about two jumps ahead of the Chinese in his thinking".⁵⁵

At 7:20, two Chinese companies were believed preparing to attack from Hill 227. An attack came ten minutes later, but from 355. The 2nd R.C.H.A. (Lieutenant Colonel E. G. Brooks) put a curtain of fire just around "D" Company's front and flanks, while the other two Commonwealth field regiments engaged the enemy in depth. Nevertheless, by 7:35 some Chinese had closed in on the right-hand platoon and were firing into it with rifles and machine-guns. The French-Canadians replied in kind. Particularly effective on all such occasions was the fire of the rear platoon, augmented by heavy and accurate battalion mortar fire. By a quarter-past eight the attack had petered out, though there was still some movement.⁵⁶

Scarcely had the first evening attack on the R. 22e R. died down when, about 8:30, another seemed to be in the offing. Mortar flares revealed further movement on Hill 227. Meanwhile, some twenty Chinese, probing at the inner flanks of the Patricia's and the R.C.R., were quietened with 4.2 mortars. One P.P.C.L.I. company was subsequently shelled very heavily, though only for a short time.⁵⁷

The second attack on "D" Company of the R. 22e R. came towards

half-past nine. "Fifty men approaching ... from top of 227", Battalion Headquarters notified Brigade. "Engaging with artillery, mortars and small arms". In the next three hours there was a great deal of movement on "D" Company's left and also in front, the Chinese shouting and blowing bugles. Suddenly, at 1:45 a.m. (24 November), the left forward platoon found itself "practically surrounded". All three regiments of field artillery plus the tanks, 4.2 mortars and the battalion mortars came to its assistance, directing much of their fire almost on the position itself. Following a further attack on the left flank within an hour, there was a two-hour lull.⁵⁸

By a quarter to three, the 2nd Battalion, 15th U.S. Infantry Regiment – under 7th Regiment control for the counter-attack on Hill 355 – had troops within 500 yards east and 600 yards south of the summit. Their advance had been seriously hampered by old British wire, mines and enemy shelling, and the rear elements had not yet caught up.⁵⁹ At 3:30 one company began a slow, stealthy ascent up a slope which the Chinese apparently considered too difficult to require attention. No contact was made until shortly before five, and even then the enemy directed much of his fire down an easier slope by which he presumed the Americans had come. This clash failed to stop and perhaps even precipitated what became the fourth and heaviest attack of the night on the 2nd R. 22e R.'s right-hand platoon.⁶⁰

The enemy's first wave was greeted with grenades, a second by R. 22e R. mortars.⁶¹ Further waves were first engaged by the British 4.2 mortars and one Canadian field battery. By 5:30 all three Commonwealth field regiments were firing on targets north of Hill 227 and north-west of 355.⁶² To deal with the many Chinese milling in "D" Company's wire, the battalion mortars fired ten rounds per minute.⁶³ This heavy fire soon had its effect. A message to "C" Squadron Lord Strathcona's Horse from one of three troops now in position on the threatened flank* stated that by 6:40 part of the enemy force on 355 was withdrawing by way of Hill 227.⁶⁵

Tank fire against 227 was now taken over by the artillery, which also switched from its pre-planned regimental target to a point approximately one mile north-west of Hill 355 to cut off that avenue of escape.⁶⁶ In the meantime had come the welcome news that the American counter-attack was progressing favourably, though against considerable small arms and mortar fire.⁶⁷ All but the highest peak fell, to the 2nd Battalion during the morning.⁶⁸

Intermittently throughout the morning and early afternoon, the Chinese shelled "A" and "D" Companies of the 2nd R. 22e R. and the 1st P.P.C.L.I.'s "C" Company with anti-tank weapons. Tanks, artillery and finally, at 2:00 p.m., an air-strike silenced the more troublesome of these.⁶⁹

*The third troop had been ordered to Hill 210 on the evening of 23 November and was in position by 3:00 a.m. on the 24th,⁶⁴ thanks to the efforts of the Regimental Sergeant Major, G. Dagenais, who personally led the tanks to the firing positions selected for them by Dextraze and the squadron commander, Major V.W. Jewkes.

Even at that point, the main threat was of further infantry attacks. Shortly after twelve noon a patrol from "A" Company of the R. 22e R. had found Hill 227 again occupied by the Chinese. An estimated seventy Chinese in the village of Un-gol, west of 227, drew artillery, tank and small arms fire.⁷⁰

From half-past one onwards there was a "tremendous" amount of enemy movement from the north and north-west of Hill 227.

Small groups of 10 to 15 each could be seen moving down from the hill and concentrating in larger groups in the valleys. These in turn would concentrate in still larger groups closer to our lines. They were in plain view and beautiful artillery concentrations must have killed and wounded a great many. I [the commander of Major Liboiron's left platoon] would estimate that the largest group of Chinese numbered approximately 500....⁷¹

At four-thirty the enemy stepped up his shelling of "D" Company's position, scoring a direct hit on the left forward Bren gun. Only one of that platoon's N.C.Os. – a lance corporal – was to emerge unscathed.⁷²

The Chinese again attacked at 5:45. Some three hundred came down a hill north-east of 227 and over the top of 227 itself, from which the "A" Company patrol had fortunately been withdrawn.⁷³ The first of three waves was armed with "burp" (sub-machine) guns. The second wave carried heavy matting for getting over the barbed wire, and the third carried bayonets attached to sticks. "As soon as one was knocked out another would pick up his weapon and take his place", the leader of the left platoon (Lieutenant R. MacDuff) told the brigade Historical Officer. "They came over the wire like buffaloes over a bridge and there was no stopping them". At six o'clock a further attack came in from the north. Dextraze later described what followed:

At the time this particular attack took place, which led to the loss of the platoon position, MacDuff was ... at the rear of his platoon with his section leaders, which enabled the Chinese to overrun the most forward section. MacDuff, when he realized the fighting was getting that close ... went to his forward section ... to rally them ... but it soon proved impossible to do so.⁷⁴

MacDuff took the remnants of his forward section and his other two and re-organized them into three groups, one party covering the rear of "A" Company's right flank while the other two gave protection to Vickers and recoilless rifle detachments. In the meantime, Major Liboiron lost no time in calling down tank, mortar and artillery fire on the overrun position; and preparations for its recovery were under way by half-past seven.⁷⁵

Although completely surrounded more than once, the right-hand platoon managed to hold its ground. The platoon commander was under the impression that the Chinese were being forced down on his position by continued American attacks on Hill 355,⁷⁶ and this may well have been the case at first. On the hill itself, one company had come under counter-attack while another was securing the final objective – "a peculiar situation in

which both sides were attacking objectives within a few hundred yards of each other".⁷⁷ The overall situation, however, was that two Chinese regiments* were attacking the left sector of the 3rd U.S. Division and "Company D, R. 22e R., 25th Brigade".⁷⁹

At midnight the R. 22e R. scout platoon set out eighteen strong, under Corporal Leo Major, † to retake the position of "D" Company's left forward platoon. By then the enemy had largely withdrawn, leaving only a machine-gun on the east slope of Hill 227. The scouts overcame this sole resistance and by 12:45 were quietly occupying the objective.⁸⁰ Successful completion of the task – code-word "Buick" – seemed not far off.

"Are you 'Buick'?" the Battalion Commander signalled Corporal Major at nine minutes to one. The log records the reply:

Corporal Major: Tout est fait.

Colonel Dextraze: Good show, Joe.

Major: Tout est fait, slow but sure.

Dextraze: Good show, Joe...⁸¹

About this time, however, the enemy renewed his attacks on Hill 355 and soon reappeared on 227 as well.

Major: We are being attacked by infantry

Dextraze: Come back with your men.

Major: I am not pulling out, just changing position.... Engage with mortars and machine-guns,

Dextraze: I shall have some artillery brought down in a few minutes....Do you need anything else ?

"So expertly did he [Major] direct the fire ... that the platoon was able to repulse four separate enemy counter-attacks."⁸²

Nothing remained of the old platoon position, not even a single bunker. The scouts accordingly reorganized some 150 yards to the east, and the old position became an outpost.⁸³

Over 3,000 rounds of 81-mm mortar ammunition were fired that night and one complete set of mortar barrels was burnt out and had to be replaced. Dextraze was full of praise for the men manning the American ammunition dump. At one stage an American driver delivered a load on his own initiative to the mortar positions. Later, Dextraze observed: "I have never seen, while in the field, such desire to help the fellow occupying a position next door to yours".⁸⁴

By half-past two the Chinese had largely withdrawn from Hill 355, having failed to regain more than a precarious foothold. A night counterat-

*In these attacks and counter-attacks on 355 the enemy used elements of the 569th, 571st and 574th regiments, representing the 190th, 191st and 192nd Divisions. Prisoner of war reports of two other regiments were not verified.⁷⁸

†A Distinguished Conduct Medal winner of the Second World War, Corporal Major that night, won a bar to his D.C.M.

tack by the 1st Battalion, 7th Regiment proved unnecessary. At 6:00 a.m. (25 November) that unit began to advance over the high ground, meeting no opposition; and within three hours the hill was completely in American hands once more.⁸⁵

The evening of 25 November was marked by a further bombardment of Hill 355, but the enemy did not renew his attacks there. At 9:20, however, Chinese troops on Hill 227 – possibly elements of the 568th Regiment, 190th Division – again struck at the saddle position. As on so many previous occasions; Major Liboiron called on the artillery to fire its defensive tasks; and the fire was “most effective – 100 percent coverage”. A reported enemy withdrawal north-west of 227 became a new target for the hard working 81-millimeter mortars.⁸⁶

So ended four days and four nights of continual shelling and repeated attacks. The enemy’s frequent refusal to take cover from fire led to a widespread belief that his attacking troops were drugged.⁸⁷ (Both Commonwealth Division and 7th U.S. Regiment reports mention instances of Chinese advancing *through* their own supporting fire.) According to some Canadian reports, a number of the attacks were led by an unarmed woman!

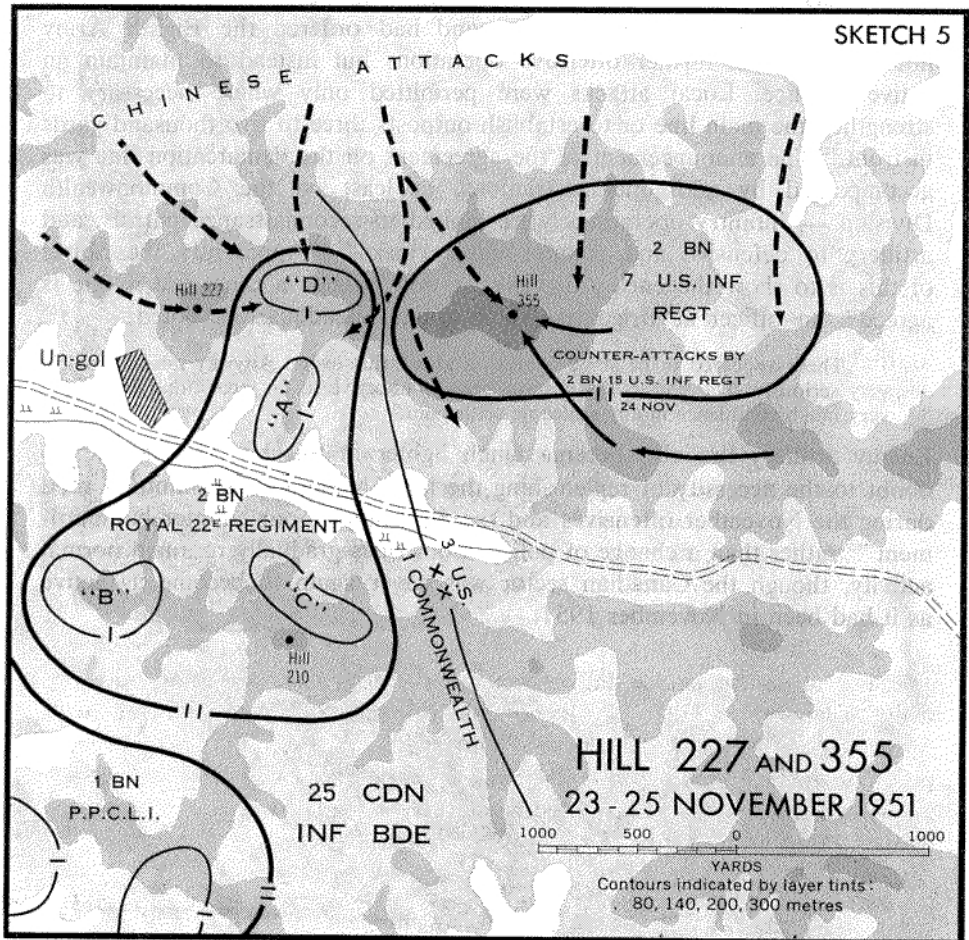
“D” Company’s casualties in those four days were not as heavy as might have been expected, yet the proportion of killed to wounded was unusually high – 11 to 13. The nights had been bitterly cold, the days warm enough to melt the snow – “Consequently the men had been alternately warm, wet and cold for approximately 96 hours.”⁸⁸ This, together with lack of sleep and near-hits by shells, further depleted the company’s strength by 12 men; and by daylight on November 26, when relieved by another company, all were “near a state of exhaustion”.⁸⁹ Keeping the platoons supplied with ammunition and water had been especially difficult, and Private Ernest Asselin was awarded the Military Medal for the courage and determination he showed in bringing forward, under heavy fire, loaded Bren magazines and water for the besieged company.

For “outstanding leadership, determination and personal courage” Major Liboiron (whose acting rank would not have precluded the lesser award of the Military Cross) received the Distinguished Service Order. Lance-Corporal J. P. A. Harvey, a section leader in the right forward platoon, was awarded the D.C.M.

Operations against Commonwealth forces between 17 and 24 November had cost the enemy 742 counted dead and seven prisoners.⁹⁰ Of the three Chinese regiments known to have attacked the 3rd U.S. Division on Hill 355, an estimated 1,500 men were killed.⁹¹ In retrospect it seems not unlikely that the enemy had hoped to seize and exploit beyond the hill by November 27; for on that date, as we have seen, the existing front became what would have been the demarcation line in the event of an armistice.

Fifteen days before the announcement, and partly in anticipation of an early cease-fire, the U.N. Command had ordered the Eighth Army not to engage in further offensive operations but instead to maintain an active defence. Local attacks were permitted only where necessary to strengthen the main line or to establish outposts three to five thousand yards in front.⁹² The announcement of the agreement on the demarcation line was accompanied by additional restrictions, at least on the Commonwealth Division – infantry operations were limited to reconnaissance patrols, and artillery to defensive and counter-battery, tasks.⁹³ “Apparently the object of this is to show the enemy that we . . . will honour a cease-fire if one is agreed”, an officer at Brigadier Rockingham’s headquarters noted.

SKETCH 5



There appeared to be some confusion about this order. Anyway no one took it very seriously. The 'Peace Talks' have been so abortive so far, that none of us have very much confidence in any amicable settlement.⁹⁴

Enemy artillery fire also became much lighter in this period – “due no doubt to the necessity of replenishing the large amount of ammunition used during the November offensives and the efficiency of our counter bombardment”⁹⁵ rather than a change of policy. Both sides gradually resumed normal activity, though the Canadian sector was never again to become as active as it had been in November 1951.

CHAPTER XII

THE SECOND WINTER

The Rotation Problem Returns

THE MAIN PROBLEM that concerned army policy-makers in the winter of 1951-52 was rotation. In all of Canada's previous wars it had only been necessary to keep the formations abroad up to strength. Generally speaking, a soldier, once dispatched to a theatre of operations, stayed there until he was killed, seriously wounded or repatriated at the end of the war. The decision to limit the length of time a soldier served in Korea (and later in Europe) brought with it a series of administrative and training problems that the nation had never faced before. Naturally enough, it was good for morale for the soldier to know that his overseas tour would end at a definite time, but to carry out annual rotations of a brigade group while keeping it up to strength with reinforcements meant that Canada had to have at least another brigade available at home. This more than doubled the manpower committed to the Korean theatre.

In addition, as the operations in Korea dragged on, the problem was not confined to rotation and reinforcement – there were a number of complicating factors. The Special Force term of enlistment was one; the greater part of the original Special Force had been recruited by September 1950. These men would be eligible for release in the early spring of 1952. There was also the necessity of maintaining the strength of the Mobile Striking Force in Canada. Three infantry battalions were committed to this role which involved parachute training. A simple solution to the first rotation could have been to send these battalions to Korea, but this would have stripped Canada of all her airborne soldiers.

The only readily available alternatives were the 3rd Battalions, but these units were not trained for war; their role since their formation had been confined to training Korea-bound reinforcements. Even this was not the whole problem. Looming in the background was the knowledge that the 27th Brigade in Europe since the autumn of 1951, would be requiring the rotation of married men by the autumn of 1952.*

The C.G.S. had decided to rotate on a unit and sub unit basis with the exception of certain smaller, non-operational service units.¹ This was a

* In the beginning, married men were required to serve only one year with the 27th Brigade, bachelors two. Later, when dependents were permitted to accompany the troops, the tour became two years and finally, three.

wise decision for it meant that fighting units remained as teams rather than as collections of individuals. The American system of individual rotation had led, in one American view, to units lacking in cohesion, due to the constant turnover of troops.²

In the end, as we have seen (page 138 above), it was decided to send the parachute battalions and replace their jumpers with men from the overseas battalions who volunteered for the training. The 2nd P.P.C.L.I. was successfully relieved by the 1st and Lieutenant-Colonel Stone and his men, on their return to Canada, became part of the Mobile Striking Force. The rotation of the rest of the brigade began in April 1952 and ended early in June. The infantry units were rotated two companies at a time, so as not to have an inexperienced battalion entering the line as a complete unit. For the same reason, the 2nd R.C.H.A. rotated one battery at a time, and the armoured squadron, though rotating as a whole, remained until the last draft of the original brigade had left.³

Manpower Shortages

The shortage of trained manpower, particularly infantry, became increasingly serious as 1952 unrolled.⁴ It began to appear as if the Canadian Army had over-extended itself, for although the basic numbers of men were, if not readily available, at least accessible, soldiers who were ready for battle were definitely becoming rarer. In a memorandum of 5 May 1952 to the V.C.G.S., the Adjutant-General attempted to outline the problem. Basing his calculations on a monthly wastage rate of 52 men per battalion, Macklin estimated that by the end of September 1952, the 25th Brigade would be 374 understrength in infantry – if operations in Korea continued at a relatively relaxed tempo. He made reference to the disappointingly low number of infantry being enrolled and then, as if to bring his point home, he added, “I have pointed those figures out in some detail as I am aware of an attitude of complacency based on the past performance of my Branch in meeting emergencies when they arise.” He further mentioned the number of reinforcements acquired by sending all remaining Special Force soldiers to Korea in the early part of the year – “We netted over 300 men by that device” – and the successful attempt by Major-General Bernatchez to persuade French-speaking soldiers from the 205th Battery and the Canadian Army Training School to transfer to the R. 22e R. This manoeuvre was tried because there were just not enough French-speaking recruits coming forward to enable the R. 22e R. battalions to be brought up to strength and still retain their French-Canadian character. In his memorandum to the C.G.S. on 27 December 1952 outlining this plan, Brigadier J. W. Bishop, the Vice Adjutant General, stated:

they [the public of Quebec] probably do not realize, either, that the deficiency of French speaking officers has made it necessary to post 18 English, speaking subalterns

to Valcartier. General Bernatchez will probably discuss this with you and seek your views regarding the desirability of his working through the Church and any other agencies that have an influence on public opinion such as the Junior Chamber of Commerce which has already launched a campaign to popularize service in the Army. He may also suggest that the Prime Minister be requested to give the public of Quebec a frank statement, regarding the necessity of greater support of the Armed Services.

Other devices to increase manpower in Korea were attempted – officers and men were allowed to remain in Korea longer than one year if they desired; those who volunteered would be accepted for a second tour.⁵ However as General Macklin pointed out these were stop-gap measures which did not confront the problem squarely.* He stated that the Army would have either to adopt drastic measures (order Regulars to Korea for a second tour, retain men due for rotation, use the 1st Battalions' airborne companies, withdraw trained soldiers from 27th Brigade) or allow the 25th Brigade to stay below strength for a few months "it would not be the first time that Canadian brigades have operated three or four hundred men below strength."

As previously mentioned, rotation of 1st Battalions with 2nd Battalions had made it necessary to train further men to fulfill the airborne commitment. The policy decided on had been to have the 1st Battalions leave behind a parachute company as a nucleus for their own 2nd Battalions, while the remainder of the 2nd Battalion would be trained as quickly as possible after its return to Canada.⁷ To understand how the whole procedure was implemented, it is necessary to recount the experiences of one regiment, and since the experience of the P.P.C.L.I. (the first to make the change) parallels that of the other units involved, we can confine ourselves to an account of its operation.

The decision to send the 1st Patricias was, as we have seen (page 138 above), taken in July, but by the time the details had been worked out it was mid-August and Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson-Smith was first informed when he attended a conference at Command Headquarters in Edmonton on Saturday, 18 August. The following day, he briefed his officers. The battalion had one month to get ready, for the first two companies to go were to sail on 21 September. The paratroopers who had to be left behind were replaced by the best troops available in the 3rd Battalion, but "A" and "C" Companies left for the Far East with few experienced private soldiers, although the officers and N.C.Os. were all Regulars.⁸

By a complicated series of staff instructions, made necessary by the many differences between infantry and paratroop establishments, the 1st P.P.C.L.I. ceased to be a Parachute Battalion, was made a Special Infantry Battalion and incorporated in the Special Force.⁹ Since parachute sections were commanded by sergeants instead of corporals, the unit had to leave behind a number of surplus senior N.C.Os.

*This policy produced a total of 484 all ranks who actually did two tours in the Far East.⁶

Since the men returning first would naturally be in the public eye as soon as they arrived in Canada it was important to have them looking as presentable as possible.¹⁰ The acting Quartermaster General, Brigadier J. V. Allard (later a Commander of the 25th Brigade) issued very detailed instructions on 5 April 1952 with the purpose of ensuring that the Korean veterans were properly turned out. In at least one instance, someone slipped up. One soldier of the P.P.C.L.I. embarked from Pusan on 4 April wearing the bush clothing he had while in the line. Having managed to rip his only pair of trousers while crossing the Pacific, he arrived, to the consternation of many senior officers, in Winnipeg two weeks later, still wearing the bush jacket he had fought in at the front and blue jeans which he had purchased for \$1.95 from the ship's stores.¹¹

Once the soldiers had returned from leave, every effort was made to persuade Special Force members to transfer to the Active Force.¹² By the middle of May 222 officers and 2,287 other ranks had done so.¹³ Those returning from the Far East who desired release were treated in two categories. If they wished immediate release this was to be granted, or if they wished to remain and finish their engagement, employment would be found for them.¹⁴ On arrival in Canada the first consideration was to get all returned soldiers home on leave as quickly as possible. Welcoming ceremonies, though encouraged, were kept within limits; the men were to be "processed" speedily and sent home. Leave was granted on a basis of 2½ days for every month in the Far East up to a maximum of 60 days, plus annual leave and travelling time.

As soon as all leave had been completed, the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. settled down in Currie Barracks at Calgary to learn peace-time soldiering. Drafts totalling 353 other ranks from the 3rd Battalion brought the unit up to a strength of 33 officers and 880 other ranks and enabled the battalion to get at its airborne training in earnest.¹⁵ On 21 February Lieutenant-Colonel Stone left for the Canadian Joint Air Training Centre (C.J.A.T.C.) at Rivers, Manitoba to begin his parachute training and by the end of March 169 all ranks had qualified as jumpers.¹⁶ On 10 April the unit carried out its first large para drop. During the rest of the year airborne training was continued and from April 1952 to April 1953 an additional 245 all ranks were qualified.¹⁷

The American Award

While the new training absorbed most of the energies of the 2nd Patricias, a difficulty arose over the sort of distinction they were to wear as an emblem of the U.S. Distinguished Unit Citation they had been awarded for the action at Kap'yong. The American policy in this matter was that all members of a unit present in the particular operation would wear the emblem – a dark blue watered silk ribbon in a gilt frame – in perpetuity, while

all soldiers subsequently posted to the unit would wear it while they were on strength. In addition, a blue streamer with the name of the action in white was borne on their colour pike.¹⁸

The British, after the Gloucesters had received a similar award for their action on the Imjin of the same date, decided quite speedily to allow the wearing of the emblem, though modifying the U.S. practice slightly. Instead of the emblem being worn on the right breast, it would be worn on both sleeves just below the unit title.¹⁹

The Canadian Army, however, had been reluctant to recognize the award at all, and the emblem, which resembled a decoration, was even less acceptable, the C.G.S. making reference, as justification, to a "war-time policy" of not accepting "unit" awards.²⁰ But the war-time policy, the result of an offer of the French government to award the Croix de Guerre to the Régiment de la Chaudière, and the "Canadian" policy in declining the award was, in actual fact, the policy of the G.O.C.-in-C. 21st Army Group.²¹ To complicate matters, General Van Fleet, as Commanding General, Eighth Army, had already made the award, by publishing it in his orders.

The award and citation had appeared for the first time on 23 June, in Eighth Army General Order No. 453. Authorities in Ottawa first heard of it through press reports emanating from Japan. Even the recipients of the honour were in ignorance. On 28 June Brigadier Rockingham wired the Adjutant General stating that he had received a telegram from the Mayor of Toronto that "Two P.P.C.L.I. has been awarded a U.S. Presidential unit citation. Can you confirm."²² Major-General Macklin, in reply, pointed to the wide publicity given the award in the Canadian press, adding: "you seem to be like wronged husband, the last to know" but Rockingham stuck to his guns, wiring on 30 June "There are two wronged husbands, C.O. 2 P.P.C.L.I. and I".

The truth seemed to be that Van Fleet, who was empowered by his office to confer this award on any unit in his command, did not realize that the Canadians could not accept the award in this manner, and were not even on the distribution list of Eighth Army General Orders. The acceptance of foreign awards is the sole prerogative of the Sovereign, and Canada could not acknowledge the honour until permission had been obtained.

On 27 October 1951, four months after the Eighth Army announcement of the award, it was published in the Canada Gazette. As for the insignia, His Majesty, acting on the recommendation of the Canadian Government, approved the "streamer" for mounting on the Colours, but made no mention of the blue emblem to be worn by the troops. Rightly or wrongly, there was a feeling in Ottawa arising out of the Second World War, that decorations given to entire battalions were too easy to acquire.²³ Efforts were made to ensure that in future, Canada would be asked before such awards were granted. Brigadier Fleury wired the A.G.:

I have addressed informal but pointed remarks on military courtesy in relation honours and awards to Chief of U.N. Liaison Section G.H.Q.²⁴

It appears that military circles in Canada regarded this type of award and its method of presentation as without precedent in Canadian military experience; never before had a Canadian formation served directly under a U.S. Army Commander. The pressures that developed in the press and from the theatre of operations to grant the wearing of the emblem (the Gloucesters in Korea were wearing it on the sleeves of their uniforms) were successfully resisted for some years. Finally, however, on 21 February 1956, authority was granted for the wearing of the emblem, to be worn on both sleeves with entitlement to follow U. S. regulations.²⁵ On 9 June 1956, Mr. Livingston T. Merchant, the U.S. Ambassador, decorated the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. colour with the streamer and presented the Distinguished Unit emblem.²⁶

Preparing for Action

Meanwhile, the 1st R.C.R. and 1st R. 22e R. were having their own manpower problems. Both units lacked trained soldiers for rotation, since, like the P.P.C.L.I., they were required to leave behind a 287-man parachute company group.²⁷ There were few trained soldiers to post to them – “trained manpower situation here is such that every attempt must be made to effect economy and not dispatch one more than necessary to the Far East.”²⁸ The two battalions had been officially warned for rotation by telegram from Army Headquarters on 29 December 1951. The tempo of training was at once increased; the training day at 1st R. 22e R. started at 7:30 a.m. and lasted through until 9:30 p.m.²⁹ Appeals were made to 3rd R.C.R. and 3rd R. 22e R. for under-19 parachute volunteers, regardless of their state of training, in order to release men of the 1st Battalions for Korea.*³¹

January, February and March 1952 were spent in tying up the many loose ends that existed. Drafts at last arrived to swell the strength of the battalions, they were both embodied into the Special Force and authorized to wear the red shield patches of the brigade in Korea, and troops were dispatched on embarkation leave. Morale and spirit in both 1st R.C.R. and 1st R. 22e R. were high as the date of departure approached, aided by the decision of the C.G.S. that families of men posted for duty overseas would not be forced to leave married quarters. Although G.O.Cs. were empowered to use any legitimate means of persuasion, if a man's dependants were in a married quarter and wanted to remain, there they stayed.³² Both battalions were old Permanent Force units and had colours that were highly prized possessions. On 1 March the Royal 22e Regiment's colours were laid up in

*It was Canadian Army policy that “other ranks will not be sent overseas until they have attained the age of 19 years”³⁰

the Citadel, and on 12 March the Royal Canadian Regiment deposited its colours for safe-keeping in the vault of the Bank of Montreal in Ottawa.³³ During March sub-units entrained on the first leg of the long trip to Korea. Before dispatch to the port of embarkation, all ranks were completely re-equipped with new clothing, accoutrements and weapons.

Much had been accomplished in a short space of time and training had reached a high standard in the rifle companies, but Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham, C.O. of the 1st R.C.R., in a letter to Brigadier Rockingham dated 31 January, disclosed some shortcomings in his support company. He explained that its training was weak because there was no 3.5-inch rocket launcher ammunition available, no 75-mm recoilless rifles, no mines, no wire, no 60-mm mortar ammunition, and very little 81-mm mortar ammunition (page 169 below). Nevertheless on 28 March the first rotational groups of both battalions were loaded on the U.S.N.S. *General William M. Black* in Seattle and sailed for Korea.³⁴

During February and March of 1952, the 1st R.C.H.A. (Lieutenant-Colonel E. M. D. McNaughton), in common with other Korea-bound units, worked hard at their training and administration. Sub-unit training was emphasized with special stress laid on battery firing, fire and movement, night deployment and route marches. On 25 and 26 February, students from the Staff College (including a number of returned Korea veterans) visited Camp Shilo and watched a fire-power demonstration. As the tempo of training picked up, all married men living in Brandon and Douglas were ordered into camp.

On 26 March "A Battery left Shilo embarking on the *General Black* three days later. Two weeks later, "C" Battery and Regimental Headquarters entrained and sailed from Seattle in the *General Nelson M. Walker* on 14 April.

"B" Battery was struck off strength to the Royal Canadian School of Artillery and was to be reconstituted in Korea from time-unexpired gunners of the 2nd R.C.H.A.³⁵

Trials and Troubles—The Replacement Group

During this whole period, the 3rd Battalions had not been idle. The headquarters of 25 Replacement Group continued to function in Edmonton and carried on its work of processing and equipping drafts for the Far East.³⁶

On 6 February King George VI died. This event of course affected all units of the Canadian Army. Officers took mourning bands into wear and paraded to swear allegiance to the new Sovereign. In addition, official functions and entertainments were postponed and general mess activities were toned down.³⁷ It was necessary, however, to carry on with the impor-

tant business at hand and plans were laid for another Group concentration at Wainwright in the summer. The training, with an obvious emphasis on conditions which would be found in Korea, was to concentrate on the night attack, defence and night warfare generally.³⁸ To give an added touch of Korea-like conditions it was further decided that each infantry company would go to Jasper, Alberta to do a week's mountain training.³⁹ In April Brigadier Pangman made a visit to the three infantry battalions of the Group. He found the 3rd P.P.C.L.I. understrength in junior officers and junior N.C.Os. The unit was attempting to weed out its medically unfit and under-19 soldiers. On the training side, support and headquarters companies were up to strength, "corps" training was progressing, and a junior N.C.O. course was slowly graduating candidates.

The 3rd R.C.R. was very much overstrength in new recruits, a situation that made training and administration difficult. Strangely enough the greatest surplus was in subalterns, with a strength of 45 on an establishment of 20. The number of N.C.Os. was gradually increasing, administration was getting smoother, and it was hoped to form a support company from trained members of the rifle companies.

The picture in the 3rd R. 22e R. was slowly brightening as further N.C.Os. were trained. A third rifle company had been formed and it was planned to organize the fourth prior to the summer concentration at Wainwright.⁴⁰ At the end of April, in accordance with Adjutant General Instruction No. 536 of 30 January 1952, these units had released their last Special Force enlistees.⁴¹

On 19 April the Headquarters of 25 Replacement Group moved from Edmonton to Camp Wainwright. On 5 May the 3rd R.C.R. arrived; followed on 8 May, by the 3rd P.P.C.L.I., and on 13 May by the 3rd R. 22e R. To augment the Group, Lord Strathcona's Horse (less "B" Squadron which had gone to Korea on 11 May) and the 81st Field Regiment, R.C.A. arrived on 1 June.⁴² Quarters were a definite improvement over the previous summer, and the men were generally happy with them.⁴³ This improved accommodation was the result of decisions taken early in 1951. At his conference of 10 January in that year the C.G.S. had directed that facilities at Wainwright would be expanded to house 20,000 troops. Construction was to be of a permanent nature; Wainwright was to be a divisional concentration area on general mobilization.⁴⁴ Within a year, however, Wainwright's popularity as a training camp had declined; the future Camp Gagetown, still known as "the maritime training area", came to prominence, followed by Valcartier, Borden and Petawawa.⁴⁵ In the spring of 1952 funds for further construction were held up, leaving the camp with only sufficient accommodation for a brigade group.⁴⁶

Training for the Replacement Group units was intensive. A seven day training week was instituted and all married men were ordered into quarters in camp. To offset this austerity, a 72 hour pass was granted monthly.⁴⁷

During the summer a number of senior officers visited camp to inspect training. Brigadier Rockingham, now Director-General of Military Training, arrived for a visit on 7 August and on 28 August Major-General Alston-Roberts-West, who was on his way to Korea to take over command of 1st Commonwealth Division, watched troops on the scheme which climaxed the summer's training – Exercise "Buffalo III".⁴⁸

During the month of September the units of the Group, with the exception of the 3rd P.P.C.L.I., dispersed to their home stations across Canada. The training of the P.P.C.L.I. during its second summer at Wainwright, important because of the unit's impending departure for Korea, appears to have been carried out with the usual handicaps. The unit diarist recorded:

... shortages of training equipment such as batteries for mine detectors, angle pickets for wiring and blank ammunition. . . .

... As the unit approaches the collective training stage, the many shortages of training elements are beginning to be felt. There is little concertina and barbed wire, practically no ammunition for the 60 mm. and 81 mm. Mortars, no stripless belt for M.M.G., no ammunition for the 3.5 rocket launcher, no mines of any sort, not enough vehicles, no mobile or portable flame thrower equipment, no air photographs, no recoilless rifles, and an over-all restriction on the use of live ammunition.

... Many of these shortages have existed for nearly two years. . . .

To explain this situation, and that previously mentioned in connection with the 1st R.C.R., it is necessary to go back to the very beginnings of the Special Force. The major deficiencies were ammunition for the U.S. pattern weapons with which the units were equipped (recoilless rifles, 3.5-inch rocket launchers, 60-mm. and 81-mm. mortars, mines). In a series of memoranda to the Director of Staff Duties, the Director of Ordnance Services had commented on the supply problems arising out of the equipment tables prepared for the 25th Brigade. In these notes, the D.O.S. pointed out that large deficiencies would have to be made up and that procurement action would be quite slow. In fact these tables were made up for operational use, leaving only a small quantity for original training, and no provision for a training reserve.

As late as February 1951, seven months after Canada's entry into the Korean troubles, no procurement action for 3.5-inch rockets and 60-mm. and 81-mm. mortar bombs had been taken, as theatre needs in Korea were to be supplied from the U.S. pipe-line. This course of action did not cater for training needs in Canada. When the brigade went to Korea, however, small stocks of unused U.S. equipment – among them a grand total of eighteen 3.5-inch rockets – were returned to Canada and, more important, Canadian procurement action was started.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, even by 20 July 1951 no U.S. ammunition had been issued to units of the Group training at Camp Wainwright.⁵⁰ As the time approached for the first general rotation the urgent training needs of the 1st R.C.R. and 1st R. 22e R. were given some consideration. They were given 2.36-inch rocket launchers and am-

munition (a far from ideal substitute since these were not being used in Korea), a handful of 81-mm. mortars, and a small amount of practice ammunition for the 60-mm., 81-mm., and the 3.5.⁵¹ The true situation was revealed by a telegram of 29 January 1952, from the Director of Weapons and Development to the G.O.C. Quebec Command stating that stocks would not permit the further issue of mortar and rocket launcher ammunition – in other words there wasn't any.

The shortage in ammunition for training on U.S. weapons is thus rather simply explained – insufficient forethought had been given to training reinforcements in the use of American weapons. There is no evidence that the Army planned for a long war in the Far East. After the entry of the Chinese into the war, the Americans were so hard-pressed that they found it difficult to supply theatre needs, let alone Canadian training needs; the Canadians had not been speedy enough in demanding U.S. type ammunition of their own.* The one other shortage mentioned was in stripless belt for the Vickers .303-inch medium machine-gun. Canadian Arsenals Limited was unable to manufacture the type of cartridge required and though operational needs were supplied through the British pipeline in Korea, there was very little available for training in Canada.⁵³

The equipment situation improved somewhat through the 1952 summer training period and the next unit for rotation, the 3rd P.P.C.L.I., began to take shape for battle, gradually losing the appearance of a "training centre". In spite of the unit being told that 1 April would be the last date on which drafts would be called for, 75 men had to be sent to Korea as late as 29 May.⁵⁴ At Wainwright, Patricia sub-units became involved in mine-laying, wiring, target grid procedure, rifle training, mortar firing, compass marches, anti-tank gun drill, wireless and all the many other skills required to make an infantry battalion operationally fit.⁵⁵ There were a number of deficiencies in tradesmen and specialists, but an agreement was reached with the 1st P.P.C.L.I. in Korea to make up these shortages on arrival in that theatre.⁵⁶

After finishing the collective training at Wainwright and smoothing off the remaining rough edges, the 3rd P.P.C.L.I. left its Alberta camp on 4 October and two days later embarked for Korea on the U.S.N.S. *Marine Adders*.⁵⁷

*A steel strike in the U.S. in 1952 forced front-line rationing of ammunition during the summer of that year.⁵²

CHAPTER XIII

OPERATIONS DECEMBER 1951- APRIL 1952

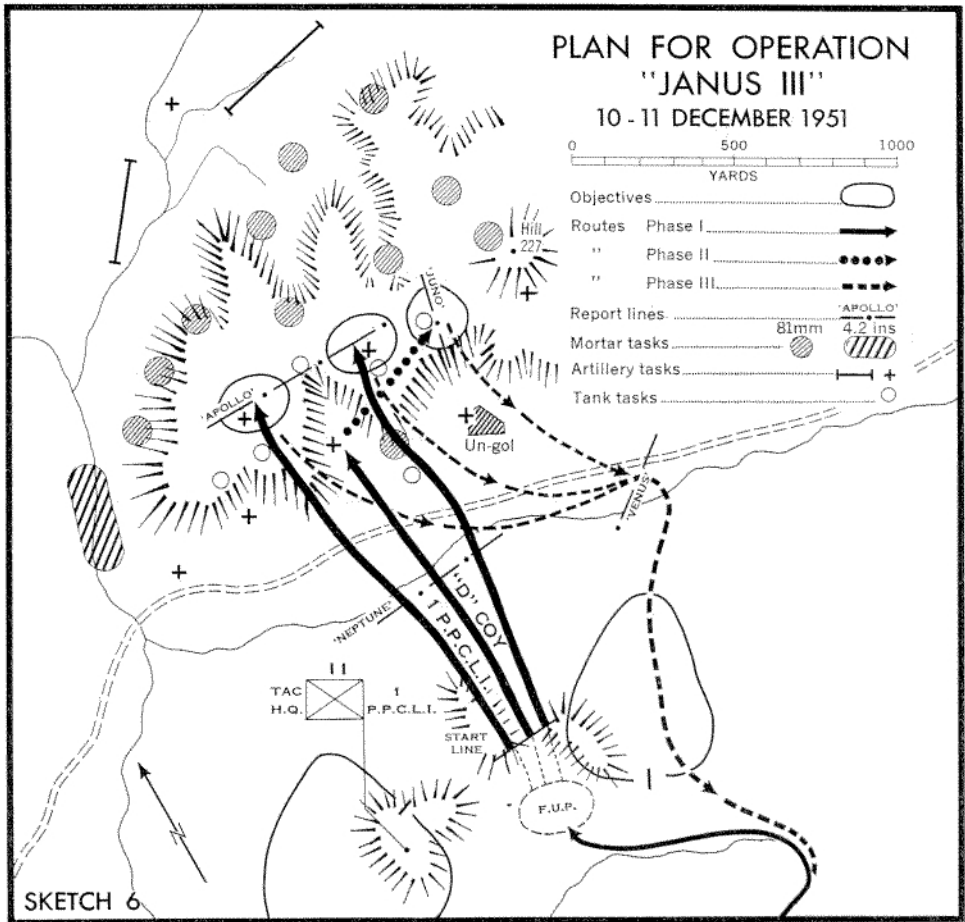
A Company Raid

THE PARTIAL CEASE-FIRE of 27 November 1951 proved one-sided and, as we have seen, very temporary. The restrictions on the Commonwealth artillery were lifted on the third day, and at the beginning of December those on infantry operations were relaxed.¹ On the night of 6-7 December, a fighting patrol from the 2nd R.C.R. came under very heavy machine-gun fire near the village of Pukch'ang but returned unscathed.² A brigade programme issued on the 7th called for a fighting patrol from each unit between that date and December 10, and for nightly reconnaissance and ambush patrols.³ One object of this renewed activity was to get all possible information about enemy positions west of 227 in preparation for a company-strength raid there, but the purpose common to all patrols in this new situation was to take prisoners, the recent lack of which the Corps Commander viewed with dissatisfaction.⁴

An interesting sidelight was thrown on the operations of this period when, on the evening of the 8th, a Korean interpreter attached to the 2nd Royal 22e intercepted a signal from a Chinese patrol believed to be north-east of Hill 227 – “Mortars just passed over our heads”. The battalion mortars promptly dropped their range, and the next message was: “On our way back – five casualties”.⁵

The company chosen for the raid behind 227 was Major George's “D” Company, 1st Patricias, to be supported by the 2nd Regiment, R.C.H.A., a troop of British 4.2 mortars, the R. 22e R. 81-mm. mortars and a troop of Strathcona tanks.⁶ The raiders set out at 10:00 p.m., 10 December, their objective being a row of three hills 300 to 850 yards west of 227. “The sky was clear, the moon bright and the night still”, wrote the unit diarist, “and the outline of the objective, some 1,200 metres away, could be clearly seen.” Apart from some ineffective mortaring as the right platoon passed through the village of Un-gol, there were no incidents until the leading elements gained the ridge between two of the hills. Here the right platoon was first held up by shellfire and subsequently by grenades.⁷ Major George later recalled an unusual aspect of this platoon attack:

When our timed firing programme should have halted it appeared to continue, and I asked the F.O.O. what had happened. He checked and found that our fire had indeed halted, but the Chinese were continuing to hit the top of the ridge.⁸



Both sides had chosen the same target. Major George ordered 11 platoon to stop while the supporting tanks engaged the Chinese positions. This fire successfully silenced the enemy on the ridge.

Meanwhile, on the centre hill, the left platoon (No. 12) had come under heavy small-arms fire, and within a few minutes suffered a dozen casualties. Some of the unwounded formed a protective screen behind which the remainder carried the casualties down the slope. Having lost touch with Major George's headquarters (a bullet had knocked out the platoon wireless set), the platoon commander, himself wounded, ordered his men back. In the meantime, the right platoon had reorganized and started to attack again. After four unsuccessful attempts, it took the hill at the east end of the ridge. Major George was wounded while personally leading the final assault, but refused medical attention until he had withdrawn and counted all his men.⁹ No. 10 platoon now advanced to the attack and

although the commander was among several wounded by the tank fire supporting the assault, a corporal led the platoon on to its objective (the saddle between the ridge and Hill 227) in the face of machine-gun fire from the reverse slope.

The raid did not yield any prisoners: the Chinese escaped to the back of the ridge by means of tunnels and communication trenches. Nevertheless it was a well conducted operation that succeeded in its main aim of testing and probing the enemy defences around Hill 227. Casualties numbered one killed, twenty-four wounded.¹⁰ Major George, whose “skilful handling of his company was an inspiration to all”, was awarded the D.S.O.

The same night as the P.P.C.L.I. company raid, the 2nd R.C.R. sent out a 35-man fighting patrol. On Hill 166 the patrol came upon two parallel crawl trenches. The first was manned by “burp” gunners, the second by men with grenades. The ensuing fight cost the enemy an estimated five to ten killed, but no prisoners.* The patrol’s own casualties were ten wounded – “only one serious enough to be evacuated.”¹² There was pressure on the Commonwealth Division for more large raids “to show the enemy that we can still be offensive and to keep our soldiers sharp.” Major-General Cassels, however, persuaded higher U.N. authority that neither object was necessary so far as his troops were concerned.¹³ In mid-December, strong tank-infantry raids elsewhere on the corps front gave way to patrolling.¹⁴

The latter half of December saw two changes of command within the Canadian brigade. The C.Os. of the Royal 22e and R.C.R. returned to Canada – Dextraze to attend the Staff College, Keane to assume a staff appointment. The one was succeeded by his second-in-command, Major J. A. A. G. Vallée, and the other by the commander of No. 25 Canadian Reinforcement Group, Lieutenant-Colonel G. C. Corbould.

U.N. commanders insisted that there should be no relaxation of vigilance in the Christmas season: the enemy might well attack in that period. (The Chinese did in fact mount two battalion-size attacks, though in both cases against South Korean forces.)¹⁵ Brigadier Rockingham, in order to permit something in the nature of a Christmas celebration without prejudice to security, arranged to form one additional company from an advanced detachment of No. 25 C.R.G. and to borrow another from the 28th British Commonwealth Brigade. The improvised company and the borrowed company – the latter provided by the 1st King’s Own Scottish Borderers – carried out a succession of reliefs, allowing all the rifle companies of the brigade to celebrate in safety.¹⁶

Two double mishaps befell the Patricias on 15 January. First, a mem-

*Only seven prisoners were taken by Commonwealth troops between 26 November 1951 and 15 February 1952, including one Chinese who surrendered unarmed to the R.C.R. on 29 December. Major-General Cassels attributed this state to the limited nature of the fighting, enemy propaganda (threats against deserters’ families and alleged cruelty towards Chinese prisoners) and close supervision by the enemy’s officers and N.C.Os.¹¹

ber of a standing patrol stumbled on a “friendly” mine, which wounded three men. In bringing back one of the wounded, a stretcher party accidentally exploded another mine, resulting in four more wounded and two killed. That evening three Chinese, having infiltrated behind a company position, ambushed a P.P.C.L.I. vehicle.* The vehicle was damaged by an anti-tank grenade, which wounded three men. The Patricia's wounded two of their assailants, who escaped, and killed a third. One soldier then found a second enemy anti-tank grenade and threw it aside. Exploding on contact, this grenade wounded four more men.¹⁸

Between 15 and 17 January, in weather that the diaries of the period describe as “sunny, clear and cold”, the 25th Brigade changed places with the 28th, in divisional reserve. So ended 4½ months in the line.

The Brigade in Reserve

The reserve positions now taken over by the Canadian brigade were on the “Wyoming” Line on either side of the Sami-ch'on, Brigadier Rockingham's main headquarters being south-east of its junction with the Imjin. The brigade's primary role for the next seven weeks was to prepare new positions on “Wyoming” and “Kansas” which, ostensibly, the division would occupy in the event of a tactical withdrawal; the real purpose, disguised for security reasons, had to do with prospects of an armistice. Should hostilities cease on the present front line, the 25th Brigade would occupy the “new Wyoming line” and the other two brigades would move back to “Kansas”.¹⁹

On January 22 the Chief of the Canadian General Staff, Lieutenant-General G. G. Simonds, arrived for a brief visit. He seemed “very pleased with the brigade and the reputation it' had established in Korea for aggressiveness and spirit.” Simonds afterwards visited the reinforcement and administrative units in Japan.²⁰

For the past three weeks the Eighth Army had been trying to reduce the Chinese defences by artillery and aerial bombardment, but the enemy was to be neither driven nor blasted out of position. U.N. efforts to that end merely forced him to step up the programme of improving his defences, including tunnels and camouflage. No more successful were various attempts to lure him out of position.²¹ One such scheme, known as Operation “Snare”, was, tried in mid-February. Between the 10th and the 16th, all Eighth Army artillery, mortars and tanks were silent; all patrolling was

*A previous incident of this kind had provoked a sweep of the entire divisional area for guerrillas, enemy agents and unauthorized civilians, and for material they might have planted. Over six hundred civilians had been screened and a third of these evacuated. The only “booty” found, however, consisted of “one skeleton, two deer blown up by mines, some ammunition and four bags of rice.”¹⁷

suspended; and movement in forward areas was kept to a minimum. The object was to arouse the enemy's curiosity to the point where he might attempt a reconnaissance in force, which U.N. troops were well prepared to deal with. Major-General Cassels, for one, feared that this would only enable the enemy to improve and extend his forward-slope positions. His objections were overruled, but events proved him right. "The enemy sent out a few patrols and found we were still there and then calmly proceeded with his digging."²²

While Operation "Snare" did not induce the Chinese to come forward in large numbers, they nevertheless mounted strong probes on the front of the 3rd U.S. Division on the night of February 13-14, and early on the morning of the 14th, members of the 28th Brigade killed one and captured two North Korean guerrillas. The period, of self-imposed quiet ended at 4:00 a.m. on the 16th at which time the Commonwealth Division and its American and Korean neighbours staged strong raids. An R.C.H.A. forward observation officer who took part found the area behind Hill 227 "alive with Chinese" and had "a field day of shooting."²³

At the end of February, the 25th. Brigade was warned that it would be going back into the line not later than March 10. "The general feeling is one of excitement", one war diarist noted, "and in some cases apprehension, which is normal preceding a move into the line." Many were due for return to Canada in a matter of weeks. The move forward entailed not only a reconnaissance of the new sector – occupied by the 29th Brigade, astride the Sarni-ch'on – but also of the corresponding "Kansas" positions.²⁴ Work on the rearward defences continued as late as 8 March, and was to be resumed on a lesser scale even after the brigade relief.²⁵ Towards the end of the period in reserve the Canadians were ordered out on a series of patrols; presumably to familiarize them with the ground they were to take over from the British.²⁶ The weather began to moderate and there was a tangible feeling of spring in the air.

Return to the Line

The relief of the 29th Brigade began on the evening of the 9th and was complete by noon next day. The R. 22e R. was on the right of the Samich'on, in the position it had held prior to the Hill 227-355 engagement. Across the river were the Patricias and, on their left, the R.C.R.²⁷

The night of 17-18 March was marked by four company and two platoon-size attacks against the division on the left – the 1st R.O.K., soon to be relieved by the 1st U.S. Marine Division. At the cost of eleven casualties, mostly wounded, the Koreans killed at least 35 Chinese, and repulsed the attacks.²⁸ Two nights later, an R.C.R. fighting patrol had a sharp encounter in which Corporal K. V. McOrmond earned the Military Medal. A Royal 22e N.C.O., Corporal Delphis Cormier, also won the M.M. for patrol

work in this period.

In the early hours of 26 March the enemy mounted a strong, highly coordinated raid on Hill 132, overlooking the junction of the Sami-ch'on and an unnamed west-east tributary. According to a wounded Chinese found in the area three days later, the operation was carried out by some eighty men of the 1st Battalion, 562nd Regiment. The battalion's overall task had been one of raiding and reconnaissance, and the object of this particular raid had been to secure prisoners. The Chinese were not yet aware of the relief of the 29th. Brigade by the 25th.²⁹

The platoon holding the hill – No. 7, of the 1st Patricia's "C" Company – had reported a small group of Chinese in the valley half an hour after midnight.³⁰ Other enemy parties crossed the valley; mostly unnoticed, following a paper trail which a reconnaissance party had made through the protective minefield.³¹ Thus the raiders closed in on the position, surrounded it, and waited for their artillery and mortar preparation.

The bombardment began at 1:20 a.m., and within five minutes the Canadian platoon found itself under attack, mainly from behind. Knocking out a Browning gunner covering the rear of platoon headquarters, some Chinese succeeded in getting through the inner wire. The acting platoon commander, Sergeant R. G. Buxton, thereupon took over the gun and "managed to knock them off."³² In the meantime, as if to give the impression that he was about to attack on a wide front, the enemy had jammed the Marine Division's wireless and was now shelling the other units of the Canadian brigade.³³ Whether a simultaneous raid on an R.C.R. section post to the left was also a diversionary measure, or a separate enterprise, seems open to question.*

"By 0230 hours the platoon [No. 7, P.P.C.L.I.] was still holding but were running short of ammunition," the Patricia company commander stated.

I started teeing up a force of two sections from my rear platoon to carry ammunition to No. 7 Platoon and bring back a seriously wounded man.... On each side of the five foot trail leading out to the platoon position a double apron fence had been built and mines laid on the outside. Consequently the relief party had literally to attack in single file and shoot their way through the Chinese who were still milling around the

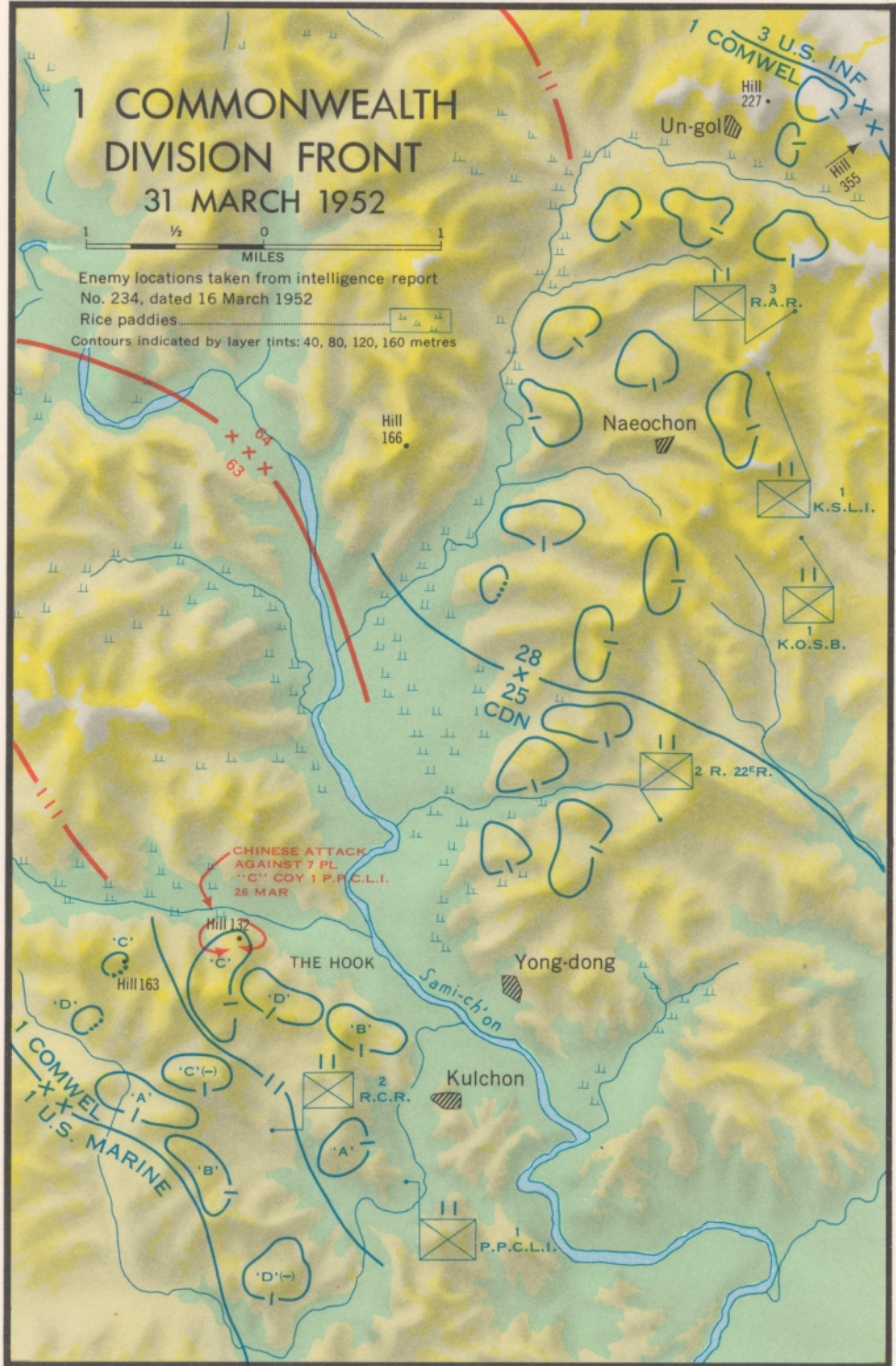
*The company commander ordered the out-post crew back to Hill 163 (three quarters of a mile west of the P.P.C.L.I. position under attack) but it was eliminated when the Chinese swarmed over the position. Attempts to recover the dead and wounded resulted in further casualties and the rescue operation was abandoned. The Chinese made no attempt to hold the position and withdrew immediately.³⁴

1 COMMONWEALTH DIVISION FRONT 31 MARCH 1952



Enemy locations taken from intelligence report No. 234, dated 16 March 1952

Rice paddies
Contours indicated by layer tints: 40, 80, 120, 160 metres



area. The party finally reached the position at 0415 hours³⁵

By that time the enemy had begun to withdraw, “although there were still a few ... near the position.”

The company commander, Captain G. C. Short, made particular mention of “D” Company which, being on the right, had been able to subject part of the enemy force to very heavy fire. As usual, the gunners did “a terrific job”, the entire divisional artillery giving support. Lieutenant-Colonel Corbould of the 2nd R.C.R., observed from his command post that the P.P.C.L.I. mortars never allowed the tempo of their own fire to waver, despite heavy shelling by the Chinese.³⁶

Besides the one wounded man already mentioned, the enemy left behind 25 dead.³⁷ The Patricias’ casualties numbered four killed, nine wounded.³⁸ Sergeant Buxton, who was among the latter, was awarded the D.C.M.

Rotation 1952

As part of the interchange with their 1st Battalions, scheduled for the latter part of April, the 2nd R.C.R. and 2nd. R. 22e R. had been sending parties back to Canada for parachute training; the eighth and final French Canadian “para draft” was to leave on April 6.³⁹ The general rotation, however, began with Brigade Headquarters in mid-March, when Major A. J. Baker arrived from Canada to take over as Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General.⁴⁰ The departing units and their replacements were processed at Britannia Camp, a Commonwealth transit camp west of Tok-chong. An *ad hoc* staff for this purpose was headed by the “outgoing” D.A.A. and Q.M.G. (Major C. J. A. Hamilton). Indoctrination training of the new arrivals was the responsibility of Major J. C. Allan, who was afterwards to succeed Major D. H. George as Brigade Major.⁴¹ The first unit to be relieved was No. 54 Transport Company – by No. 23 Transport, 11 April.

Certain units remained in the theatre, the changeover being an internal matter of man-for-man replacement: No. 38 Motor Ambulance Company R.C.A.S.C., No. 25 Field Dressing Station, No. 25 Field Dental Unit (until 5 January 1952, No. 20 Field Dental Detachment) and No. 191 Infantry Workshop. This workshop of seven officers and 178 N.C.Os. and men⁴² stayed in Korea longer than any other major unit. During its tour, which lasted 23 months,⁴³ it piled up an impressive record of 21,983 field repairs on everything from radio equipment to armoured vehicles.⁴⁴ As the situation stabilized, and static war became the rule, No. 191 Workshop settled down to an almost permanent situation, some miles south off the Imjin. When it was finally relieved, by No. 23 Infantry Workshop on 15 April 1953, it was estimated that 429 combat vehicles, 3,504 trucks and engineer

equipments, 159 guns, 3,235 small arms, 2,893 instruments, 7,587 radio equipments and 4,176 miscellaneous equipments had been repaired during its stay in the Far East.⁴⁵ It was an impressive contribution.

The advance parties of the 1st R.C.R. and 1st R. 22e R., including their commanding officers – Lieutenant-Colonels P. R. Bingham and L. F. Trudeau – had flown from Canada towards the end of March, the main bodies following by sea. As noted in the previous chapter, both units were incomplete. The R.C.R. and the R. 22e R. sailed with understrength battalions; the difference was to be made up by those members of their 2nd Battalions not yet due for rotation.⁴⁶

Bingham's rifle companies disembarked at Inch'on on April 10. At Britannia Camp they did one and a half days' section, platoon and company training, followed by a battalion exercise on the afternoon of the 14th. While inspecting a platoon position during this exercise, Bingham was wounded by a booby trap, and one of the two company commanders, Major E. L. Cohen, took over command of both companies for the time being. Two days later these companies relieved two companies of the 2nd R.C.R. and came under Lieutenant-Colonel Corbould's control. The remainder of the 1st Battalion reached Pusan on the 18th. Next day, as we shall see, 2nd R.C.R. took up a new position on the right of R. 22e R., and it was here that the relief was completed. All companies came under or reverted to 1st Battalion control on the 25th. Pending Bingham's return from hospital (he was well in a week), Major F. Klenavic was in command.⁴⁷

The first two rifle companies of 1st R. 22e R. had reached Pusan on the 11th, and were in the line by the 17th. Battalion Headquarters, Headquarters Company and Support Company took over from the corresponding elements of the 2nd Battalion between the 20th and the 22nd. Lieutenant-Colonel Vallée's two remaining rifle companies came under Trudeau's command on April 24, until relieved on 8 May.⁴⁸

The 23rd Independent Field Squadron (Major E. T. Galway) had sailed in two groups. One troop arrived in Korea early in April; headquarters and a second troop followed a month later. Sappers not eligible for return to Canada with the 57th were formed into a third troop or, in some cases, attached to the Divisional Engineers' field park (heavy equipment) squadron.⁴⁹ No. 37 Field Ambulance (Lieutenant-Colonel C. B. Caswell) arrived in the theatre on 10 April and replaced No. 25 on the 27th.

The next Canadian unit to arrive was the 1st Regiment, R.C.H.A., commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel E. M. D. McNaughton. In drafts of approximately battery strength, it had begun to relieve the 2nd Regiment in April; the handover was completed on 6 May, when the 2nd Regiment fired its last round at the enemy and turned over to its replacement. It had fired 300,000 rounds during its year in action. Gunners absorbed from the departing unit tended to qualify for rotation faster than reinforcements were forthcoming, but what became a serious shortage in June was made up by

mid-summer.⁵⁰

“B” Squadron of Lord Strathcona’s Horse (Major J. S. Roxborough) was not officially warned that it was to replace “C” Squadron until February 1952, though that had been generally understood for some time. The squadron sailed on 14 May, with rear elements of the 23rd Field Squadron and No. 23 Transport Company. The relief of “C” Squadron was carried out between 4 and 8 June. Pending eligibility for rotation, some members of “C” Squadron became supernumerary to “B”.⁵¹

Early in the overall rotation, command of the Brigade Group passed to a pre-1939 Regular – Brigadier M. P. Bogert, formerly Director General of Military Training. The new commander arrived at Brigade Headquarters on the night of 20-21 April and, with Brigadier Rockingham, visited the forward area next day. The visit was “marked by the burst of an enemy 120-mm shell close enough ... to put him [Bogert] immediately out of action had the hand of fortune not decreed ... otherwise.”⁵² The take-over was completed at noon on the 27th.

Air Support

American Intelligence estimated that North Korea had had about 130 combat aircraft at the beginning of hostilities, and that by the end of August 1950 all but 18 had been destroyed. Thereafter the United Nations enjoyed complete supremacy in the air over the battlefield. The entry of Chinese forces into the war did not upset this situation; the short range Russian built MIG-15 with which they were equipped could only intervene on the battlefield from airfields in Korea and these were successfully put out of action by U.S. bombers. U.N. aircraft throughout the war inflicted heavy casualties and much damage on North Korean airfields, bridges, railways and tunnels. In the opinion of the U.S. Air Force historian, however, the actual damage to the enemy was not nearly as important as the restriction of his movements to the hours of darkness, and the relative immunity of U.N. troops to air attack.⁵³

Lieutenant-General Nam Il, the senior Communist delegate at the armistice discussions, stated in August 1951, “without direct support of your [the U.N.] tactical aerial bombing alone your ground forces would not have been able to hold their present positions. . . . Without the support of ... your air and naval forces, your ground forces would have been driven out of the Korean peninsula by our powerful and battle-skilled ground forces.”⁵⁴ The American air historian considers this a good summary of the situation.

In some aspects, United Nations air attacks were as effective psychologically as physically, and encouraged our own troops as much as they demoralized the enemy. Chinese prisoners of war stated that they did not greatly fear napalm unless it fell directly on them; otherwise they could run away from it. Seeing the enemy run, U.N. airmen and soldiers concluded

that napalm must be highly destructive.⁵⁵

Canada's contribution to the air effort was not confined to transport service. Besides No. 426 Transport Squadron*, the Royal Canadian Air Force provided some twenty fighter pilots and a number of technical officers. Serving in the U.S. Fifth Air Force, the Canadian pilots were credited with a total of more than twenty Russian-made jet fighters destroyed or damaged.⁵⁷

While U.N. bombers, striking as far north as the Yalu, imposed a defensive role on the enemy's fighters, its own were able to operate over the forward area with relative impunity. For many months the only danger above 5,000 feet – beyond the range of rifle and machine-gun fire – was that of a chance hit by one of our own shells. In the summer of 1952, however, two Auster VI artillery observation planes of No. 1903 Air Observation Post Flight R.A.F. (attached to the Commonwealth Division) were damaged by light anti-aircraft fire, whereupon the Commander Royal Artillery ordered that such aircraft would in future fly no farther forward than the Chinese front line. This restriction did not eliminate the risk but it greatly reduced it; in the event of a hit the pilot-observer had a good chance of bringing the plane down safely on his own side.⁵⁸

One of the two damaged Austers crashed near its home field and its occupant, an Australian, was killed. The pilot of the other plane, Captain J. M. Liston (attached from the 1st R.C.H.A.) was forced to parachute inside enemy territory and survived as a prisoner. Liston's replacement, Captain P. J. A. Tees, conducted a total of 453 shoots, for which he received the Distinguished Flying Cross – the first awarded a Canadian army officer since the First World War. Nine American air awards went to officers temporarily attached from the Canadian brigade to the U.S. Fifth Air Force as airstrike observers.

Tactical air support could be directed to target areas by either air-to-air or ground-to-air radio, and targets indicated to them either by rocket-carrying T-6 aircraft or by artillery firing coloured smoke. The key to prompt action lay in extensive and flexible wireless communications, so that pilots could be briefed on their way to the targets while the artillery prepared the smoke. During the operations of March-April 1952 Brigadier Rockingham's Brigade Major, Major D. H. George (a Signals officer), worked out a system whereby all this could be done in five minutes.⁵⁹

Radar was never developed to a point where forward air controllers on the ground were able to direct air strikes on targets they could not see, and it is most unlikely that in a future war airborne controllers will be able to hover over the front. "As the war closed in Korea", the American air historian notes, "Fifth Air Force officers were inclined to believe that

*By early June 1954, when its assignment to the Pacific airlift ended, this unit had flown 600 round trips, carrying over 13,000 passengers and 7,000,000 pounds of freight and mail without loss.⁵⁶

close-support control in future conflicts would have to be managed by some sort of electronic equipment which had not yet been developed.”⁶⁰ U.N air superiority forced the enemy to develop and camouflage his positions to an extent undreamed of by our own troops. Brigadier J. V. Allard (who was commanding the Canadians at the time of the cease-fire) considered this to be a “most unlikely condition in a large war”. In a report written on This topic he stressed that “we have not learned to supply ourselves in the face of enemy air opposition; our camouflage was bad; air experience in AA defence was nil; our field defences were not constructed to withstand bombing; and, through our unopposed Air OP flights, our artillery was able to dominate the enemy to a most unusual and unnatural degree.”⁶¹

CHAPTER XIV

THE STATIC WAR, I

Astride the Sami-ch'on, 1-19 April 1952

ON THE GROUND, the general tactical situation remained largely unchanged. The front line lay well north of the 38th parallel, except in the extreme west, where it descended below the parallel to the area of the Han-Imjin junction. From this point, the line ran practically due north-east, curving around north of Ch'orwon and continuing east to Kumhwa, a town which marked the western flank of a salient, approximately 20 miles in width, rising almost to Kumsong. From the eastern flank of this salient the front curved upward to positions on the east coast north of Chodo-ri.¹

The representatives of the opposing military commanders had been meeting at Panmunjom for nearly nine months, in an attempt to negotiate an armistice. Although these negotiations had not resulted in a settlement and earlier hopes for an end to the fighting had consequently abated somewhat, the public utterances of the leading figures involved did not contain any suggestion that either side was prepared to abandon negotiations in favour of an attempt to settle the Korean question by force of arms. At the same time each side made it equally clear that neither would surrender the field to the other. Thus the soldiers of both armies in Korea faced the prospect of an indefinite continuation of the sort of action they had experienced since the latter part of November 1951.

During the winter of 1951-52 the pattern of future operations in Korea – at least those of the 1st Commonwealth Division – had begun to emerge. Already defensive layouts were assuming forms which were to remain substantially unchanged for months on end. There were to be no long movements, no great concentrations for large operations, no deep penetrations of the enemy's front, no "victory" – nothing, in short, that resembled anything Canadians had experienced before. Most important of all, the termination of the conflict rested more in the hands of the negotiators at Panmunjon than in the courage and military skill of the soldiers. The extent to which a realization of this fact influenced the minds of the commanders and troops in Korea cannot be measured. There can be little doubt, however, that it reduced the willingness to take risks.

The relief of the remaining infantry battalions and other fighting units of the original 25th Brigade began around the middle of April and followed closely on a change in the Commonwealth Division's front. During the first part of April, the division had two battalions forward west of the

Samich'on and four in the front line east of that river. The right-hand battalion lay up against Hill 355, and the divisional boundary skirted the south of this dominating feature. The 25th and 28th Brigades were in the line on the left and right respectively, while the 29th Brigade was in reserve. Within the 25th Brigade, the 2nd R.C.R., the 1st P.P.C.L.I. and the 2nd R. 22e R. were forward, the valley of the Sami-ch'on separating the Patricias in the centre from the Royal 22e on the right. The 28th Brigade also had its three battalions forward, with the 1st King's Own Scottish Borderers left, 1st King's Shropshire Light Infantry centre and 3rd Royal Australian Regiment right. One company of this last unit was on the saddle between Hill 355 and Hill 227, the position in which "D" Company of the R. 22e R. had fought its heavy defensive engagement in November 1951.²

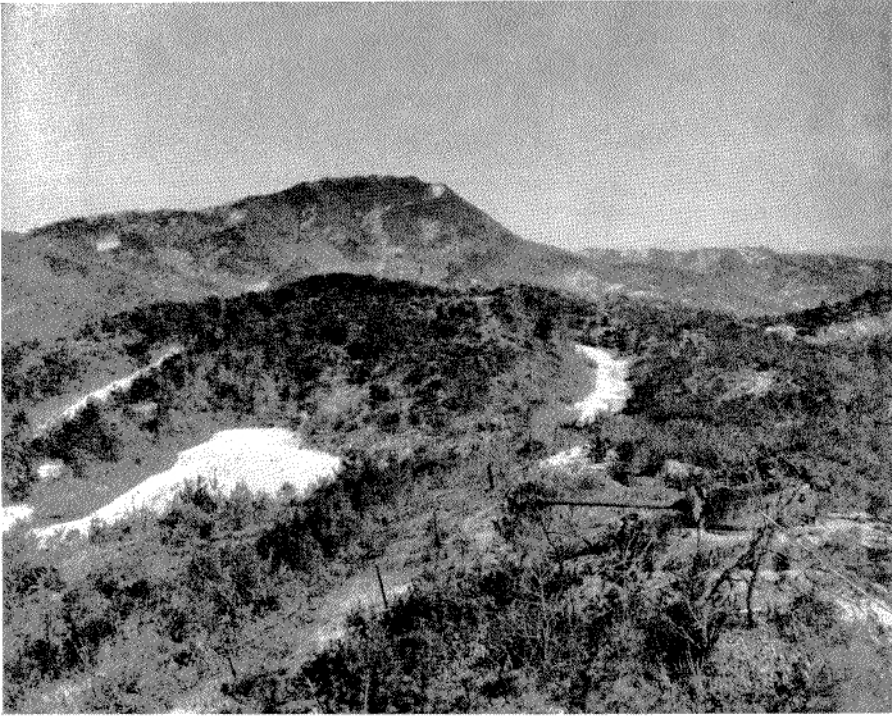
The latter part of March had produced one sharp brush with the enemy. By contrast, the first part of April was quiet, though patrol activity continued. On the night of 5-6 April an unknown number of enemy attacked "A" Company of the Borderers from the south, under cover of heavy artillery fire. The attack succeeded in penetrating the wire of the left forward platoon but was driven off.³ Three nights later an ambush patrol of one officer and 13 men from the Royal 22e established on a track which ran across the river flats in front of the battalion, was attacked by an enemy group estimated to be 40 strong. The patrol was surrounded but succeeded in extricating itself at a cost of four wounded. One prisoner, who subsequently died of wounds, was brought in, and the patrol reported 15 casualties inflicted on the enemy during the encounter.⁴

At the same time the weather began to change as the Korean winter gave way to spring. The soft snows of March were dissolved by frequent heavy rains and mud became a problem as roofs and dugouts collapsed, streams coursed across the floors of mess tents, and roads became difficult. Gradually, however, the rains slowed, to be replaced by choking dust.

Operation "Westminster", 15-19 April 1952

Between 15 and 19 April, the Commonwealth sector of the "James-town" line was altered in two respects. The division surrendered responsibility for the area west of the Sami-ch'on to the 1st U.S. Marine Division and accepted responsibility from the 3rd U.S. Infantry Division for Hill 355.⁵

Operation "Westminster", as this adjustment of the division's boundaries was called, involved a complicated series of moves. On 15 April, two battalions of the 1st Marine Regiment relieved the 2nd R.C.R. and the 1st P.P.C.L.I. west of the Sami-ch'on. The Canadian units then moved to areas on the right of the 2nd R. 22e R., whose frontage was restricted by one company locality. The R.C.R. took up positions next to the French-Canadians and the Patricias occupied the battalion area on the brigade's



P.J. Tomelin

VITAL GROUND

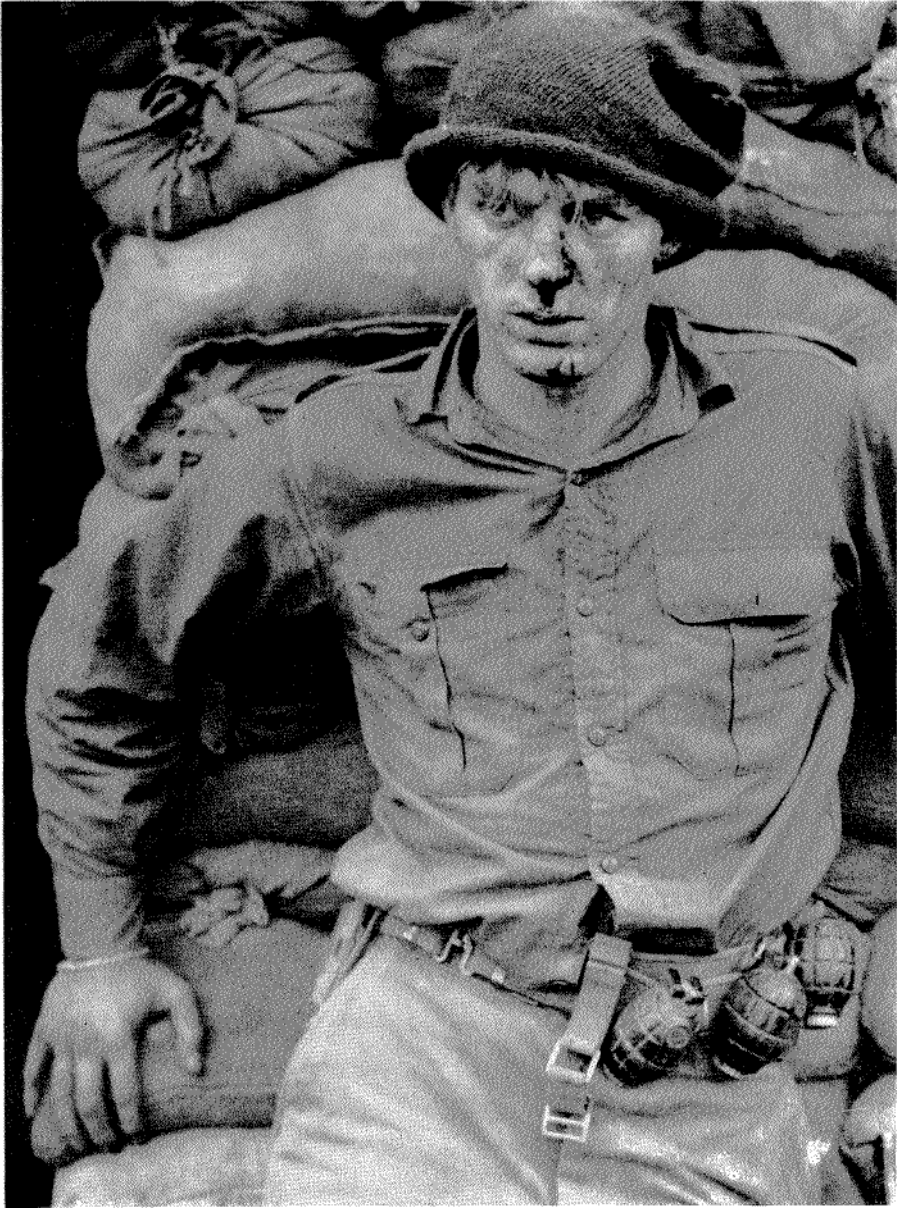
Hill 355 seen from a reserve company position. The tank in the right foreground is positioned to give depth to the area and check any attempts to outflank the hill.



P.J. Tomelin

WINTER PASTIME

Canadians playing hockey at the "Imjin Gardens", 4 February 1952. "Teal" bridge is in the background.



P.J. Tomelin

TIRING WORK

After a long patrol.

new right flank. The 29th British Infantry Brigade then took over in the right brigade's sector; this, as we have seen, had been extended north-east to include the Hill 355 area.⁶

A comparison of the Canadian brigade's new layout with that occupied on conclusion of Operation "Commando" shows a certain similarity. The brigade's frontage had been somewhat extended in October 1951; it had included Hill 159. Each battalion area had been correspondingly larger. Both the Royal 22e and the R.C.R. however, held substantially the same areas they had held five months earlier, and the 1st P.P.C.L.I. area was much the same as that taken over from the 2nd. This periodic return to familiar sectors and areas was to characterize all divisional moves until the end of active operations in Korea.⁷

On conclusion of Operation "Commando" the division's front had included Hills 217 and 317 and had stretched north-east to the Imjin. On conclusion of "Westminster" the line of the forward defended localities ran close to Hill 355, the outposts on Hills 217 and 317 having been lost to the enemy some time before. In addition the division's front extended only some 2,000 yards beyond Hill 355. The 29th Brigade held its sector with the 1st Royal Leicesters on Hill 159, and the 1st Welch in the Hill 355 area. The Norfolks lay behind the Welch, facing north, on the valley which formed the boundary between the Commonwealth and U.S. formations. The remainder of the line running north-east to the Imjin was held by the 3rd U.S. Infantry Division.⁸

The 28th Brigade, which had been replaced by the 29th during "Westminster", was in reserve on "Wyoming". The Imjin river, with the "Kansas" positions along its south bank, lay in rear. The divisional rear headquarters, the echelons and some engineer units lay south of the river, but the greater part of the division was north of the Imjin.⁹

A few days after "Westminster" ended, the 2nd R. 22e R. and the 2nd R.C.R. (as we have seen) were relieved by their 1st Battalions, newly arrived from Canada, while the 1st Royal Canadian Horse Artillery took over the gun lines of the unit it had sired 18 months before. The enemy did not complicate the handovers, and the new units were given a chance to settle in without serious interruption. On 27 April, the new Brigade Commander, Brigadier Bogert, took over and on the 28th, a farewell dinner was given for Brigadier Rockingham at the brigade headquarters officers' mess. An account of this function shows the amenities which the officers had succeeded in providing for themselves, in spite of the primitive facilities of the country in which they were serving.

... The food arranged for and set up by our own RCASC, and purchased for the most part in Japan was beautiful as well as tastefully prepared. Pink blossoms, literally from the hills of our own back yard, gave the buffet tent a noticeable delicateness of appearance that drew surprising remarks from high and low. Even a serving-table center-piece was present – a large glass bowl electrically lighted from behind, and filled

with water that sported swimming fish which if not of the brightest golden variety at least came from a superior school of minnow.¹⁰

Appropriately enough, on this day royal approval was announced for a new Commonwealth service award to be called the Korea Medal.¹¹

With the rotation complete, the character of the 25th Brigade had changed, for the volunteers of the Special Force had now been replaced by the Active Force units of paratroopers which had trained them in 1950. The atmosphere of “spit and polish” the professionals brought with them to Korea was difficult to maintain in that country but ingenuity and perseverance overcame the difficulties. The brigade took pride in immaculate lines, pressed uniforms and gleaming boots. A cartoon of the period showed the Commanding Officer of the 1st R.C.R. pointing indignantly at some tarnished barbed wire defences and exclaiming, “I won’t take over the position until it’s *all* polished.”

During May and June several changes took place in units outside the Canadian brigade. The 1st Royal Australian Regiment, which had arrived in Korea in April, became operational on 1 June and joined the 28th Brigade as a fourth battalion. On 27 June an Australian officer, Brigadier T. J. Daly, relieved Brigadier J. F. M. Macdonald as commander of the 28th. In the 29th Brigade, the Leicesters were relieved by the 1st Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) on 25 June. In the divisional Headquarters, Lieutenant-Colonel Danby was succeeded as G.S.O. 1 by Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson-Smith, who was in turn replaced as Commanding Officer of the Patricias by Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Cameron.¹² One other Canadian was added to the divisional staff when Colonel G.L.M. Smith became Assistant Director of Medical Services.¹³

Operation “Buckingham”

The planning that goes on constantly at all headquarters within a division may be likened to that old cliché, the iceberg simile, in that a relatively small proportion of it ever sees daylight. A great deal of planning for operations is never used, and most of the precautionary plans against emergencies are seldom tested. In this account only passing attention has been paid to this sort of planning, though it forms an important and, in certain tactical situations, even a major part of the work of the headquarters within a division.

Operation “Buckingham”, for instance, was the code-word for the re-occupation of lines “Wyoming” and “Kansas”, in the event of a withdrawal from “Jamestown”.¹⁴ The plan for the operation issued by the Canadian brigade headquarters on 23 April 1952 was the successor to six previous versions, the first of which was issued, as Operation “Waterloo”, 21 September 1951.¹⁵ In September 1951, the brigade had just occupied a sector of “Wyoming”, and “Waterloo” provided for a withdrawal to “Kansas”. A

revision of "Waterloo" issued on 16 October 1951, after the "Jamestown" line had been reached, gave the plan for re-occupation of "Wyoming" and "Kansas". In a further revision, dated 2 December 1951, the name of the scheme was changed to "Buckingham", the re-occupation of "Wyoming" being called "Balmoral", that of "Kansas", "Windsor". These names were retained in four succeeding versions. In the last Instruction, dated 23 April 1952, it was made clear that the withdrawal envisaged would be a planned one, with adjacent divisions conforming. The 28th Brigade, when relieved by the 25th on "Wyoming", was to occupy positions in the area of the two bridges – "Teal" and "Pintail" – on the Imjin, presumably to defend these important structures from infiltrating enemy groups. Battalion areas on each line were described, complete with routes and timings. In addition the infantry battalions were responsible for producing detailed plans for occupation of the areas, and for preparation of positions within the areas, two activities which were to occupy a good part of their time.¹⁶

Canadian troops, it will be recalled, had been committed to action in Korea in mid-February 1951. By the first part of October in the same year, they had begun their occupation of the "Jamestown" line, a task that was to last until July 1953. In other words, the Canadians spent 22 of their 30 months of fighting in Korea in defensive positions. Though not so spectacular as the earlier operations, this protracted defence was not without its hazards. The comparatively flimsy field defences with which the division began its operations on "Jamestown" were not developed to any important extent in the central sector. On the left and right flanks, however, there were much stronger defences, constructed under the stimulus of the constantly-increasing enemy artillery and mortar fire. Canadians took an important part in this work, and their effort will be described in dealing with the operations of December 1952 and January 1953.

Patrolling-May and June 1952

During May and June, the units of the Commonwealth Division patrolled vigorously in conformity with a policy laid down by H.Q. 1st U.S. Corps.¹⁷ Before discussing this policy and describing the division's share in it, it is necessary to describe the ground on which the formation operated.

An unnamed tributary runs into the Sami-ch'on from the north-east, approximately four miles upstream from the latter's junction with the Imjin. The valley of the Sami-ch'on, which is quite narrow above the mouth of this tributary, widens to over 2,000 yards below it. The tributary, on the other hand, flows through a valley which is little more than 500 yards wide. The features which lie to the east of this tributary, and of the wide portion of the Sami-ch'on valley, consist in the main of long ridges stretching west into the valley like fingers. The features opposite are more compact, in the sense that fewer re-entrants run into them from the valley whose western

boundary they form. The area held by the 1st Royal 22e and a good half of that held by the 1st R.C.R. fronted on the wide portion of the Sami-ch'on valley; the remainder of the R.C.R. position and all of the 1st Patricia's area faced the valley of the tributary. The latter two units were thus much closer to the enemy-held features opposite them, but nowhere in the Canadian sector was contact really close.

To the right of the 25th Brigade boundary lay a ridge of high ground which ran almost due east and west and terminated at its western end, in Hill 159. The Sarni-ch'on tributary passed along the western end of this feature and then curved east, enclosing the ridge on two sides. A small valley to the south of the ridge separated it from the features held by the Canadians. Immediately to the north-east lay the rocky mass of Hill 355, with a jumble of disconnected features in rear. The line of the forward defended localities ran close to the lower slopes of this hill, to the east of Hill 227; the enemy did not occupy this latter feature continuously, but used it rather as a firm base from which to mount raids against the defences about 355.

Starting on 18 May, each forward battalion of the division was ordered to carry out one strong fighting patrol a week against known enemy positions.¹⁸ This order was issued by the divisional headquarters in conformity with a directive from H.Q. 1st U.S. Corps which stated that at least one prisoner was to be taken every three days. The assignment proved to be so difficult and costly that it led to some debate with the corps staff. Reporting on the matter, Major-General Cassels wrote:

The period has generally been very static with both sides patrolling and doing the occasional raid. Latterly we have dominated no-man's-land to such an extent that the enemy has been very loath to enter it. In some ways this has been a considerable disadvantage as it makes it extremely difficult to get a prisoner. We are now trying to lure him forward again but, so far, he has not reacted.

During the last month we have been ordered to produce one prisoner every three days and have been authorized to use up to a battalion to achieve this. In fact we have put in a series of company raids which have killed many enemy but have not produced a prisoner. As these raids have had to go a long way to find the enemy, who are sitting back in their main positions, they have been comparatively costly. As a result I have ordered that they should be suspended and we are trying some other methods. Meanwhile I am being harassed and ordered by Corps to produce a prisoner every third day, apparently regardless of cost. As we know quite well what enemy divisions are in front of us I cannot see the point in this and have said so and have asked if there is any special reason behind the request. I have made it clear that I will do all in my power to get as many prisoners as possible, but that I consider a series of battalion or company raids a most unprofitable way of doing it, unless the need is considerably greater than I think it is. At present this has been agreed, but I do not know how long it will last. Personally I believe the reason behind the order was to keep the U.S. Army divisions "sharp" regardless of casualties, and at least one of their divisions had taken very considerable casualties -between 2,000 and 3,000. The Commander of 1st U.S. Marine Division on my left visited me on 29 June, and raised this very point. He is in complete agreement with my views.¹⁹

The raids to which Major-General Cassels refers were too numerous

to be described in detail here. However, the tactics used were similar, and the contacts were sufficiently alike to permit certain generalizations. The raiding groups varied from 20-man patrols to an entire company, and heavy supporting fire was provided by the artillery and tanks.

In the Canadian sector the patrols passed through their own wire and minefields at fixed points where gaps existed, and crossed the floor of the valley to the hills opposite; those from the 29th Brigade had to thread their way along more tortuous routes, because of the broken character of the ground on their front. "Firm bases" were established as close to the objective as possible, in localities that lent themselves to all-round defence, and the actual raiding parties moved on to the objectives from these positions.

On the objective, the raiding groups usually found themselves in a maze of trenches ruined by our artillery. Here they came under heavy mortar and small-arms fire which inflicted casualties and restricted their freedom of movement. In addition, a high proportion of the enemy trenches were connected to tunnels, through which his troops could retreat from a threatened spot or move to one which had been cleared and passed by the patrols. Although it was possible, under these conditions, for the raiding party to inflict casualties, it proved difficult to take a live prisoner. The results of the many raids staged in May were not particularly encouraging. One prisoner was captured on the night 6-7 May, and two deserters surrendered early in the mornings of the 9th and 16th.

Within the 25th Brigade, the R.C.R. staged the most raids. The unit concentrated largely on two features, Hills 113 and 75, which lay across the valley of the Sari-ch'on tributary, with Hill 166 immediately in rear. Of the seven raids which the unit records for May,²⁰ three resulted in casualties.* The heaviest losses occurred on the night of 22-23 May, when a patrol cost five wounded and one missing presumed killed. The Royal 22e recorded two patrols directed against objectives on the enemy's side of the Sami-ch'on valley.²¹ The first was a raid on Hill 61 which was staged on the night of 26-27 May by a fighting patrol of 40 all ranks. The group found the objective deserted, but was ambushed during its return and lost two wounded.

The Patricias carried out two raids on objectives across the valley of the Sami-ch'on tributary.²² The first of these, led by Lieutenant D. A. Middleton, went out on the night 20-21 May, with the aim of sweeping the eastern tip of a shoulder running east from Hill 156. The assault group moved to within fifty yards of an enemy position and launched an attack with all weapons firing. The enemy retaliated immediately and in the ensuing fire fight five of the patrol were wounded, including Lieutenant Mid-

*On one of these patrols, Cpl. D. G. Lemoine, commanding the firm base, covered the withdrawal of the assault group with outstanding skill and carried back one of the wounded. He was awarded the M.M.

dleton. This officer, though wounded, persisted in his efforts to close with the enemy until his right leg was broken in two places by a grenade. Corporal J. G. Dunbar, the patrol second-in-command, organized the withdrawal and succeeded in evacuating all the wounded, carrying his officer himself. For his gallant performance Lieutenant Middleton was awarded the M.C., while Corporal Dunbar received the M.M. The second fighting patrol, sent out on the night of 29-30 May, became lost in no-man's-land and did not make contact.

In addition to raids, which were aimed at territory on the enemy's side of no-man's-land, the Canadians also carried out what are described as ambush patrols. At least one of these was itself ambushed by the enemy.²³ In June this type of patrol assumed greater importance than in May; but while a formidable number were laid, they had limited success.

The R. 22e R., in its war diary, records a number of patrols, described as fighting patrols, sent out to contact and engage the enemy if possible.²⁴ These patrols were intended to range about no-man's-land, seeking an encounter engagement. In most cases, they failed to make contact, but on the night of 6-7 May one such patrol was ambushed close to the east bank of the Sami-ch'on and lost one killed, one wounded and two missing presumed killed. Private J. G. Guay's good work on this occasion is recorded in his citation for the M.M.

On 3 June, Brigadier Bogert issued a directive permitting units to discontinue fighting patrols, although ambush, reconnaissance and standing patrols were to be continued. This instruction seems directly connected with Major-General Cassels' order suspending raids. The new policy did not prove any more successful than the former, nor did it lower the casualty rate to the extent that was perhaps expected.

The patrol task tables issued by Bogert for ambushes during the period 18-30 June, show that these patrols were to have a strength of 12 or 13. They were armed in much the same way as the fighting patrols, and the patrol leader had on call an impressive weight of fire support. The task tables list 25 ambush patrols, of which four were laid on the enemy's side of the Sami-ch'on tributary. Stream junctions, crossing places, tracks, and the western ends of the long fingers stretching out into Sami-ch'on valley were favoured sites.

Towards the end of June there occurred a brief, unexplained revival of the raiding policy, as a result of which each battalion of the brigade staged a raid on an enemy-held feature on the western side of the valley. On the night of 20-21 June, the Patricias sent a party 35 strong to raid Hill 133. The group suffered six killed and 18 wounded, and failed to secure a prisoner. The following night, the R.C.R. lost one killed and 22 wounded in a raid by "C" Company (Major D. E. Holmes) on Hill 113. Again, no prisoners were taken. In each case, heavy explosions, as of powerful charges buried in the patrol's path and detonated electrically or mechanically, oc-

curred just as the patrol was moving in on the objective. On the night of 23-24 June, the R. 22e R. lost one killed, five wounded and two missing in a similar patrol to the spur running north-east from Hill 169. At the time, it was thought that both of the missing soldiers had been killed, but one of them, Lance-Corporal P. Dugal, survived and was returned with the sick and wounded prisoners exchanged in "Little Switch" in April 1953 (below page 247). The Royal 22e men wore the new "armoured" vests on this patrol, for the first time. These garments, which covered the upper body, were made of a fabric sufficiently thick and tough to provide some protection from shell and mortar fragments.²⁵

In addition to raids and ambushes, other types of patrolling were carried on by the division. Of these, the "standing" patrol was the most common. Each patrol generally consisted of three to five men, stationed close to the perimeter of a forward defended locality and charged with detecting enemy movement in the area.

It could be supposed that a considerable number of reconnaissance and "lie-up" patrols would have been conducted during the operation of the raiding policy, to provide the necessary intelligence about the enemy, but the division's daily reports mention only two or three patrols described as reconnaissance patrols, and one "lie-up" by the 1st Welch is recorded in the reports for the period 10-13 June. The 25th Brigade patrol task tables for the latter part of June do not list a single reconnaissance patrol, though it is possible that some of the other patrols had reconnaissance tasks. This lack of detailed information about the enemy's hour-to-hour routine (best provided by reconnaissance and "lie-up" patrols) must have made the planning of fighting or, more particularly, ambush patrols very difficult.

Another type of patrol carried out by the Canadians was the "jitter" patrol. From 10 to 15 men were given the task of approaching an enemy position and engaging it with small arms. The object of this manoeuvre, as the term "jitter" suggests, was to unnerve the enemy. The patrols were also meant to serve as sources of intelligence about the location of enemy weapons, and as decoys to draw enemy parties into ambushes.

A Fighting Patrol, 31 May 1952

A more precise idea of what the raids were like may be gained from an account of an R.C.R. fighting patrol which was sent to Hill 113 on the night 31 May – 1 June.²⁶ This patrol, described in one of Major-General Cassels' periodic reports as "a specially daring raid against a strong enemy position",²⁷ consisted of 22 men under the command of Lieutenant A. A. S. Peterson. Although he failed to return with a live prisoner, Lieutenant Peterson so distinguished himself in command of the patrol that he was awarded the M.C., and Corporal A. I. Stinson won the M.M. for his part in the operation.

On completion of an air strike on the objective, the patrol entered no-man's-land just before last light via the "South Gate", a gap in the wire and minefields. In nine minutes it had worked its way approximately 1,000 yards over the floor of the valley to the stream, which it reached at 8:34 p.m. Hill 113 lay 500 yards to the north-west of the crossing place. A cluster of ruins stretched across the base of the height, below a slope which was banded by lines of trenches. When he reached the shattered houses, Lieutenant Peterson called down an artillery concentration on the objective, and then led his men to the first line of trenches, which proved to be unoccupied and in disrepair. Leaving a "firm base" of six or seven men and a 2-inch mortar under Sergeant H.J.D. Shore in this position, the patrol began its final advance* At the same time, the artillery concentration was replaced by a timed programme of tank fire which, being more accurate than the artillery fire, could be maintained until the advance was very close to its objective.†

Under cover of this fire, the patrol climbed up a draw to the next line of trenches, which was also found to be deserted. Corporal Stinson and six men were left to clear the bunkers in this area while the remainder of the patrol, under Lieutenant Peterson, pressed on to the crest. Here the defences were in much better repair. A trench ran west along the crest of the height, paralleled on each side by two rows of "foxholes", each pair joined by a tunnel under the main trench. This warren came violently to life as soon as the patrol's supporting fire lifted, and Lieutenant Peterson realized that he must withdraw at once, if his group was to avoid becoming engaged in a hand-to-hand *mêlée* with superior numbers, a mile away from reinforcement.

Meanwhile, Corporal Stinson's section had taken one prisoner from a bunker opening into the bottom of the communication trench to the left. Shortly afterward, the enemy began to close in and Stinson began to withdraw to the firm base, with four of his men wounded. The prisoner tried to escape when the withdrawal began, and was shot as he scrambled away. Stinson, however, had searched the prisoner and brought back papers which identified the Chinaman's unit – a battalion of the 584th Regiment, 195th Division.

Peterson's group attempted to return by way of Stinson's former position, but there were so many of the enemy in the area by that time that the route had to be abandoned in favour of a course straight down hill to the

*The 2-inch mortar, a Second World War weapon no longer issued to Canadians, had been "scrounged" from a British unit because of its lightness and simple operation.²⁸

†The tank guns, having flat trajectories, could place rounds within a few feet of the desired point on the steep slopes across the valley. The artillery concentration, on the other hand, spread over a wider area of these slopes. For this reason, artillery concentrations were normally used on the slopes during a patrol's movement across the valley. As the patrol began to climb the hills on the other side, the tank guns took up its support. A tank officer, acting much the same as a forward observation officer of the artillery, controlled the shoot.

firm base. Here the party reorganized behind a heavy artillery concentration and after using up the 2-inch mortar ammunition on the pursuing Chinese, returned to the battalion area by way of a more northerly route. The patrol had inflicted a number of casualties on the enemy, at a cost of only four wounded. The low casualty rate was due largely to the excellent timing of the withdrawal, and the firm control maintained throughout, but the patrol had not attained its object – the capture of a prisoner.

Operation “Jehu”, 17 June 1952

On 17 June, armour made a brief and not conspicuously successful effort to further the division’s raiding policy, when tanks of the 5th Royal Inniskilling Dragoon Guards attempted a raid on enemy positions across the valley from the 1st P.P.C.L.I. right flank. Prior to this raid, the armoured units of the Commonwealth had not been employed in a mobile role since the division settled on the “Jamestown” line. The tanks had not been idle, however, for in addition to important roles in operation “Buckingham” and in the plans for counter-attacks they had very active employment in support of the infantry.*²⁹ It was unusual, though, for tanks to sally forth into no-man’s-land, and it cannot be claimed that the results of Operation “Jehu” – as the Inniskilling raid was called – provided any strong reason for an increase in tank movement ahead of the forward defended localities.

The plan of the operation called for squadron headquarters and two troops of “C” Squadron of the Inniskillings, with a strength of nine tanks, to cross the start line at 5:00 a.m., 17 June and move west along a re-entrant until it reached the valley on which the P.P.C.L.I. positions fronted, when the force was to change direction and move north-west to the objective.³⁰ The tanks moved off as planned, encountering very little opposition except for light shelling, but the “going” proved to be very bad, and the force was recalled when the leading tanks were within 600 yards of the objective. During the withdrawal, five of the vehicles became bogged. Four of these were recovered within 36 hours, but the fifth sank four feet in one night and was not recovered until 14 days after the raid.³¹

Trouble on Koje-Do

On 7 May 1952 an incident occurred on the offshore island of Koje

*The employment of tanks in support of infantry patrols is exemplified in the citation for the immediate award of the M. M. to Trooper R. C. Stevenson of the Strathconas’ “B” Squadron. On 1 October, an R.C.R. patrol operating in the area of outpost “Vancouver” was stopped by machine-gun fire. At the same time, the enemy directed a heavy mortar concentration on Stevenson’s tank. In spite of the danger, the gallant trooper clambered out of the turret on to the rear deck of the tank, where he manned the heavy machine-gun mounted on the top of the turret. With this weapon he silenced the hostile machine-gun.

that had world-wide repercussions. In the words of the newly appointed Supreme Commander, General Mark W. Clark, it was "the biggest flap of the whole war".³²

Koje is a rocky inhospitable island off the south coast of Korea near Pusan. It had been opened as a prisoner of war camp several months after the Chinese entry into the war had turned the 100,000 North Koreans captured in the drive to the Yalu, into an embarrassment and a problem. By the end of 1951 there were over 130,000 Koreans and 20,000 Chinese on the island, confined to ridiculously large compounds of 5,000 or more prisoners under a mixed guard of American infantry and South Korean military police.³³ The American authorities had managed, by the end of 1951, to screen out some 38,000 of the prisoners as South Koreans and these were released as civilians, but as the war progressed, leaders began to emerge among the remaining prisoners who set about organizing resistance to the authorities. Soon riots became commonplace and, as the U.N.'s hold loosened over the milling thousands, Communist organizers set up kangaroo courts to punish prisoners who attempted to take advantage of any further screening. There is much evidence to indicate that this unrest was organized and directed from North Korea – wireless sets and an elaborate message passing system were later uncovered – in order to minimize the propaganda victory that was shaping up at Panmunjom, where the truce talks had reached the stage of discussing repatriation of prisoners and Admiral Joy was able to report that many thousands of the Communist troops in captivity would resist repatriation.³⁴

On 18 February 1952, real violence erupted in one of the compounds on Kojé when a battalion of U.S. infantry entered to maintain order during a screening session. The prisoners, egged on by agitators, attacked the soldiers with home-made weapons, killing one and wounding 38. The troops opened fire to restore order, inflicting over 200 casualties. Thereafter the demonstrations of defiance increased, until the prisoners were masters in their own compounds, ringed by American and Korean guards under orders not to use force, and with a very divided and contradictory command system.³⁵

The climax, which came on 7 May, and coincided with General Clark's arrival in the theatre, was precipitated when the prisoners actually seized the Camp Commander, Brigadier-General F. T. Dodd, as he was talking with them at the gate of their compound. One of Ridgway's last acts was to relieve Dodd of his command and appoint a successor, to whom the prisoners presented a series of demands. These demands, implying American brutality and coercion, were mere propaganda devices, and grist to the mill of the communist negotiators at Panmunjom, but the new Commander, Brigadier-General C. F. Colson, acceded to them in order to effect General Dodd's release.³⁶ Later, General Clark repudiated this act, as having been carried out under coercion, but the damage had been done and the wire ser-

vices of the world buzzed with the story as charges and countercharges were flung back and forth at Panmunjom, the United Nations and in the world press.

The new C.-in-C. acted swiftly to check the rot. Dodd and his replacement were both removed from the island and a capable field commander, Brigadier-General H. L. Boatner, was sent to take charge at Kojedo. At this stage, Canada became involved. On 22 May, at 3:20 p.m., the C.G.S. received an operational immediate message from Brigadier Bogert. In it the new Commander of the 25th Brigade reported that "on instruction comwel div and by request U.N. command" he had ordered "B" Company of the 1st R.C.R. to Kojedo Island. A British company was also going and the move was to take place the next day.³⁷ Lieutenant-General Simonds lost no time advising the Chairman Chiefs of Staff of this unexpected turn of events and General Foulkes, in turn, was quick to brief Mr. Claxton. There were several aspects immediately apparent which made the news unpleasant to the Canadian Government. For one thing Canada had not been consulted in advance and although the order was, in the opinion of General Foulkes, perfectly legal from a military point of view, this did not disguise the fact that there were political overtones to the move. The disturbances on Kojedo Island and the blood spilt to end them had received a mixed reception in the Canadian press; Mr. St. Laurent felt that the use of Canadians in guarding prisoners would have an unfortunate effect on public opinion.³⁸ The Canadian Ambassador in Washington was asked to get in touch with the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, in an effort to have the order countermanded.³⁹

In the meantime, Lieutenant-General Simonds was wondering why his representative in Tokyo had not advised him of the plan to use Commonwealth troops on Kojedo. In a priority message to Brigadier A. B. Connelly he demanded an explanation.⁴⁰ Connelly's reply opened up some interesting questions:

My first knowledge of proposal to move U.N. troops other than U.S. to Kojedo 22 May when U.N. Liaison Officer* told me matter under consideration and asked if any objections. Replied would refer to Ottawa but was told C.-in-C. U.N. Command hoped it would not be necessary to consult governments at this time.

Nothing could be better calculated to arouse government suspicion than this statement. Connelly went on to say that Lieutenant-General W. Bridgeford, in his role of "Commander-in-Chief", had apparently taken the decision to comply the day before, without informing him. Before this wire arrived in Ottawa, and after the incident had received great publicity, wires from Major-General Cassels and Brigadier Connelly had shed some light on the affair. Cassels stated that he had received what amounted to an order

*Colonel E. E. Farnsworth, U.S. Army, who worked as a link between all national Liaison Officers in Tokyo and the U.N. Command.

from Bridgeford to comply with any Eighth Army request for help on Kojedo, while Connelly made it clear why the request had been made. In quoting a wire Bridgeford had sent to the War Office in London, he relayed the following: "General Clark has decided that guards at Kojedo P. W. Camp shall be U.N. commitment rather than purely American". In view of the bad press the camp was getting, this was a very natural decision for General Clark to take, but the Canadian determination to follow a U.N. line, rather than a U.S. one, did not extend to the assumption of a portion of the blame for what appeared to be a very lax and inefficient prisoner of war operation.

In a wire to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Lieutenant-General Simonds voiced another reason for disliking the move.

I consider Cassels' and Bogert's action correct ... but take exception to action of Bridgeford and Connelly in accepting assignment which has political implications without reference to and consultation with Commonwealth governments concerned. Latter requirement is clearly stipulated in Bridgeford's directive and situation was not of an emergent operational nature precluding delay for consultation.⁴¹

Lieutenant-General Simonds went on to ask the views of the C.I.G.S. on the matter and on 4 June a wire from the Canadian Liaison Establishment set them forth. The British Army authorities felt much less strongly about the matter than did the Canadians and while acknowledging that Lieutenant General Bridgeford would have been "wiser" to ask U.N. Command for a delay while he consulted the Governments concerned, they could see nothing improper in Bridgeford's action, and were anxious not to impair the effectiveness of the Commonwealth command structure. The C.I.G.S. through his deputy, suggested that a recurrence of this sort of incident might be prevented by inserting a paragraph in the Commander-in-Chief's terms of reference making it incumbent on him to refer all employment of Commonwealth troops that might have political repercussions to Governments through Their Chiefs of Staff. In other words, the C.I.G.S. did not propose to make an issue out of the Kojedo incident.

Not so Lieutenant-General Simonds and the Canadian Government. It is clear from various instructions emanating from the Department of External Affairs that there was great dissatisfaction in Government circles with the way the affair had been handled and the C.G.S. left for the C.I.G.S.'s annual conference in England feeling that "the decision to detail Commonwealth troops for guard duty on Kojedo was dictated by political reasons".⁴² The problem was of course complicated by the fact that Canada could not openly accuse the American authorities of this without adding fuel to the blaze already raging around Kojedo island and in doing so harm the U.N. cause. But since a protest of some sort was deemed necessary to quiet Canadian opinion, a less explosive reason was advanced – and the old principle of maintaining the unity of Canadian forces was invoked. Speaking in the House on 26 May, Mr. Pearson read the text of a note which had

been presented to the State Department in Washington.

The Canadian Government recognizes the importance of re-establishing and maintaining effective control over communist prisoners of war captured in Korean operations. The Canadian Government also recognizes that custody of prisoners of war is a military responsibility which should be performed in accordance with military requirements.

It has, however, been a long established policy of the Canadian Government that Canadian forces dispatched abroad for military operations should remain under Canadian command and control and that, except in the event of a military emergency which does not permit of time for consultation, no part of these forces should be detached therefrom except after consultation and with the agreement of the Canadian Government.

The Canadian Government therefore views with concern the dispatch of a company of the 25th infantry Brigade to Kojé Island without prior consultation with the Canadian Government, and hopes that it may be possible to re-unite this company with the rest of the Canadian brigade as soon as possible. Meanwhile, the Canadian forces concerned will, of course, carry out loyally the orders of the unified command with respect to participation in guarding prisoners of war on Kojé Island. The Canadian Government also wishes to be reassured that, if it is proposed in the future to detach any Canadian forces from Canadian command and control for military or other duties, this will be done only after consultation and with the consent of the Canadian Government, except in the event of a military emergency which does not permit of time for such consultation.⁴³

The Americans found it difficult to take this position seriously. They freely admitted that the Kojé camps had been badly administered, but felt the Canadian concern greatly exaggerated. One American official remarked facetiously that if unity was the only Canadian concern the Americans could easily arrange to send the whole brigade to Kojé.⁴⁴

On 17 June the State Department replied to the Canadian note, accepting the Canadian position on the maintenance of its forces as a unit, and giving a carefully qualified undertaking to respect the "desires of the Government of Canada".⁴⁵ The contents of this note were not made public. Mr. Pearson summarized it in a statement made to the House on 19 June,⁴⁶ but did not manage to quell the Opposition, which contended, in the words of Mr. George Hees, that "nothing feeds the enemy propaganda machine quite so well as to publicize differences between allies".⁴⁷

General Clark reacted ingenuously to the Canadian protest. He was, he said afterward, "surprised by the objections of the Canadian Government".⁴⁸ Later on, someone told him that Ottawa had not "adequately understood our plan".⁴⁹ Mr. Pearson and his colleagues, of course, understood it all too well; it was obviously an attempt to distribute the blame for any further trouble among other U.N. contingents. If the idea that U.N. prisoners should be guarded by U.N. troops had been advanced at any other time than the moment of crisis, no one could have reasonably objected. Mr. Atlee, speaking in the British House of Commons, undoubtedly spoke for many in the Commonwealth (while infuriating the American press), when he said that "these conditions would not have happened if they [the camps]

had been under British control.”⁵⁰

Meanwhile, on Koje, the soldiers went about their business quite calmly. The R.C.R. detachment (Major Cohen’s “B” Company) and a Shropshire company had arrived on the island on Sunday 25 May, and next day they paraded to hear an address of welcome from Brigadier-General Boatner. He was extremely pleased, he said, to have the Commonwealth troops under command and felt sure that their “formal” discipline would have a good effect.⁵¹ Ten days later, the Canadians took over Compound No. 66, in conjunction with the Shropshires. Each unit was to furnish alternate 24-hour guards. The duty was performed in the following manner:

We occupied seven towers, placed at intervals about the Compound, with a Bren gunner on each of the towers’ two platforms. Between these towers, there were sand-bagged ground positions, seven in all, each containing a Bren gunner. There were three high barbed wire fences about 66 and in between the outer two we had an 8-man perimeter guard, constantly patrolling and watching the PsOW for unusual occurrences or disturbances. There were approximately 3200 prisoners in the Compound, chiefly North Korean Officers. Our job was to keep them inside the Compound and to apprehend prisoners who might try to escape.⁵²

On 12 June, the Commonwealth troops were ordered to move the prisoners to one of the new compounds on the following day. This promised to be a more difficult task than guard duty; American soldiers clearing Compound No. 76 two days previously had met furious resistance, in the course of which 31 prisoners had been killed and 111 wounded. On 13 June, however, the prisoners moved out of Compound No. 66 in an orderly fashion, leaving the R.C.R. and Shropshire companies temporarily unemployed. During this time, they furnished a guard of honour for Earl Alexander of Tunis, the Minister of Defence in the United Kingdom (who had been elevated from Viscount for his services in Canada). Further duty on other compounds followed. Brigadier Bogert visited his soldiers on 7 July, and attended a sports meet held by the prisoners, one of whom presented him with a garland in honour of the occasion. Next day the Commonwealth companies handed over to an American unit. By 14 July Major Cohen and his men were back with their battalion which by that time was in reserve, with other units of the brigade, on “Wyoming”. The relief, by the 28th Brigade, had been completed on 30 June 1952.⁵³

Looking back on the Koje incident from the safe vantage point of fourteen years, it is easy to conclude that Canada made too much fuss over the affair. But Koje should not be judged in isolation; to do so would be to overlook the material it provided for enemy propaganda, and the fear that Canadian participation would harm the country’s posture in the United Nations. The real lesson to be learned from the affair is the vital necessity for prior consultation between allies when unusual activity of any sort is being contemplated.

The Bombing of the Yalu Power Plants

As if to emphasize this lesson, another controversy arose during the last week of June 1952, this time over an alleged change of United Nations strategic policy without consultation between governments.

When General Clark succeeded General Ridgway in May, he reviewed the politico-military situation to determine what he could do to “make the stalemate more expensive for the Communists than for us ... to convince them by force that the price tag on an armistice was going up, not down.” One step which Clark considered overdue was the destruction of hydroelectric power stations on the Yalu River. Although they “provided much of the power to the Communist war machine in Manchuria and serviced much of what remained of North Korean industry”, these plants had been spared, first, because the U.N. Command had hoped to use them itself, and later, in the hope of an early truce. Only one of these targets required approval from the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington – Sui-ho, the closest to the Manchurian frontier – and that approval was soon forthcoming.⁵⁴

Bombers and fighter-bombers of the U.S. Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps attacked most of the power plants on 23 June, and all of them between the 23rd and the 27th. Of the thirteen stations which comprised the four major complexes, eleven were put out of service and the other two appeared “doubtful”. As a result, North Korea underwent “an almost complete power blackout” for over a fortnight, while the neutralization of the Sui-ho plant alone reduced northeastern China’s power resources by 23 percent. “There was no doubt”, writes the U.A.S.F. historian, “that the attacks ... put military pressure upon the Communists, not only in Korea but in China and Russia. The rapidity with which the Reds sent scarce Russian and Chinese technicians ... bespoke the importance of the power plants to the Soviet bloc.”⁵⁵

The immediate reaction in friendly countries was mixed. The Japanese press suggested that Japan should have been consulted, as the attacks might have brought about Communist retaliation against the Japanese islands.* In Britain and in Canada alike, Opposition members of parliament interpreted the American action as rash and irresponsible, and an affront to London and Ottawa respectively.

One British Labour M.P. (Sydney Silverman) demanded whether Mr. Churchill did not think that “so extensive an operation ... affecting as it does places outside Korea” might undo the progress of armistice negotiations and lead to an extension of hostilities “which all sensible people in the world are doing their best to avoid.” A Conservative member (Fitzroy

*In reply, the Japanese Prime Minister let it be known that in the opinion of the U.N. Command such retaliation was “unthinkable”.⁵⁶

Maclean), on the other hand, urged that “to hit the aggressors hard” was “much more likely to lead to the conclusion of a quick armistice.” Churchill pointed out that the whole war was being fought during peace negotiations. As for the attacks on the power stations, these did “not appear ... to involve any extension of the operations hitherto pursued or to go beyond the discretionary authority vested in the United Nations Supreme Commander.” As far as the British Government was concerned, there had been “no change in policy.”⁵⁷ Similarly the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, was satisfied that the operation was “within existing military directives” and had been ordered “with military considerations solely in mind.”⁵⁸

On 1 July a British Labour M.P., Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, tabled the following motion:

That this House, while appreciating that the Government and armed forces of the United States of America have borne the major share of the burden of resisting armed aggression in Korea, regrets the failure of Her Majesty’s Government to secure effective consultation on the timing of certain recent air operations; and considers that improved arrangements should now be made to enable such consultations to take place between the Governments principally concerned on issues of United Nations policy in the Far East.

This amounted to criticism of American failure to consult the British authorities, and in defeating the motion – by 300 votes to 270 – the British Government in effect approved the bombing of the power stations as a legitimate military measure not requiring prior consultation.

General Clark afterwards stated that when Earl Alexander (above, page 196) was in Tokyo, he had not yet received Washington’s approval to bomb the Sui-ho plant; otherwise “I would have informed Alexander ... as a matter of courtesy.” In a statement to the press, Clark pointed out that Sui-ho and “any other remunerative targets” in North Korea were “subject to attack by United Nations forces while hostilities continue and ... until a just and honorable armistice definitely is assured”. Sui-ho was bombed four more times, “the last lick less than sixty days before the Armistice.”⁵⁹

CHAPTER XV

THE STATIC WAR, II

The Germ Warfare Charges

WHILE THE Prisoner of War problem on Kojedo was being discussed, another challenge came in May to vex the Canadian Government. In January 1952 the Soviet Union had announced over its radio system that the United Nations forces in Korea were using bacteriological weapons against North Korea and the Chinese mainland. In the months that followed, these charges were repeated by communist-front organizations, Peking radio and the various communist delegations at the U.N. Throughout the spring of 1952, as the clamour grew, the charges became more specific, aimed for the most part at the United States. Certain captured American pilots “confessed” over Peking radio to dropping germ-filled bombs and photographic “evidence” was produced to prove the charges. Washington replied that the charges were false and attempted, quite unsuccessfully, to have an impartial agency, such as the International Red Cross, investigate them.

Canada, along with other U.N. members with forces in Korea, supported the American stand but remained silent until a Canadian entered the debate. On 24 March Dr. J. G. Endicott, a former missionary who had spent some years in China as a teacher before returning to Canada to publish a Communist-line paper called the *Far Eastern Newsletter*, cabled the Secretary of State for External Affairs from China that his “personal investigations” revealed the existence of large-scale germ warfare on the Chinese mainland.¹ He followed this up by holding a press conference in Mukden on 10 April, subsequently broadcast over Peking radio, in which he was reported to have said that infected insects for use by U.S. forces were being bred at the Suffield Experimental Station in Alberta. Endicott later denied implicating Canada in the germ warfare charge but he continued to attract attention with speeches and interviews until Mr. Pearson, on 12 May, put the Government position before the House.

. . . The charge that United Nations forces in Korea have engaged in germ warfare is so false and so fantastic that it would normally be unwise to dignify it by official denials. Nevertheless, it has become such a central feature of Soviet propaganda, and has been repeated so violently and so often for the transparent purpose of deceiving persons who may not be aware of the Soviet purpose behind the charge, that I think some statement should be made about it . . .

The accusation of germ warfare is usually aimed specifically at the United States. It has been emphatically and indignantly denied in Washington and by the unified command in Korea. Within the last few days Mr. Acheson has repeated that denial,

emphasizing that the “trumped-up ‘evidence’” to support—and I quote him—*these utterly false charges constitutes another example of the incredible length to which communists will go to propagate the big lie.*

Canadian members of the communist party, who, of course, follow automatically every twist and turn of Soviet policy no matter where it leads them, and their fellow travellers, who do not always realize that they are travelling under orders from the Kremlin—these people prefer to accept this trumped-up evidence rather than the official denials of our friends in the United States. The charge, Mr. Speaker, has also been categorically denied on behalf of the United Nations by its secretary general Mr. Trygve Lie, as utterly false. I am sure that this House accepts those denials.

So far as our own position is concerned, it is, of course, a slanderous falsehood to say that Canada has participated in any way in any form of germ warfare. It is equally false and equally slanderous, but more cowardly and despicable, to imply without stating it in so many words that Canada, is making any preparations in this field except for defence against such warfare. I may say, Mr. Speaker, that some of our best qualified scientists, though they would not of course be permitted to make on-the-spot examinations, have already examined the so-called evidence of Korean germ warfare that has been made public by the communists and have pronounced it, in an oral report to me to be a transparent and clumsy hoax . . .²

There, as far as the Government was concerned, the matter rested. But Dr. Endicott continued to monopolise the headlines and on 23 June the member for Lake Centre (Mr. J. G. Diefenbaker) asked the Government to hasten a ruling on whether a charge would be laid against Endicott under the Criminal Code.³ Two days later the Minister of Justice (Hon. Stuart S. Garson) made a statement on the matter to the effect that any action against Dr. Endicott (whom he described as a “dupe and tool” of the “Communist conspiracy”) would probably result in more publicity and probably give him the appearance of a martyr. While acknowledging that Endicott was abusing his privilege of freedom of speech, he felt that “we must be careful not to do anything to injure or destroy” this freedom. The Opposition agreed with this stand and when on 27 June, Mr. Garson tabled a report by three distinguished entomologists which demolished Endicott’s arguments, there was little further discussion.⁴ The charges were reiterated by various “peace” committees throughout the rest of the year, but the persistent refusal of the Chinese Communists to permit neutral inspection had its inevitable effect on public opinion and the furore died down.

The Quiet War with Nature

The Canadian brigade’s tour of duty in reserve lasted about six weeks and the units were occupied, as usual, in strengthening the “Wyoming” and “Kansas” positions. In the early hours of 10 August, the brigade returned to the line, assuming responsibility for the right sector of the divisional front.⁵ As in previous reliefs, no major changes were made in the battalion positions. On the left, the Royal 22e took over from the Black Watch, the R.C.R. replaced the Welch Regiment on Hill 355 and on the right the

Patricias occupied the Royal Norfolks' positions.⁶ To the south-west of the Canadians the 28th Brigade still held the positions it had occupied since 30 June.

In July the monsoon rains had broken the dry and dusty heat that had persisted during the latter part of May and the whole of June. These down-pours began on the 27th and very quickly gave employment to the P.P.C.L.I. company which had been assigned to protect the division's two bridges over the Imjin, "Teal" and "Pintail". The company had furnished two detachments, each supported by two tanks and equipped with search-lights, whose duty it was to defend the bridges against ground attack and to break up debris and detonate floating mines before they could damage the piers. Operation "Noah's Ark", as these protective measures were called, did not achieve complete success. Rain fell continuously from 28 to 31 July, and the Imjin rose 39 feet above normal summer level. The tanks shot manfully at the floating debris, but in spite of their best efforts "Teal" collapsed on 31 July.⁷

The 25th Brigade was relieved of its "Noah's Ark" commitment on 10 August when it went back into the line. On 24 August, further heavy rains caused the level of the Imjin to rise 41 feet above normal summer level, displacing the centre pier of "Pintail". The bridge continued in use for essential traffic, however, with everyone wearing life jackets while crossing it. On 15 September Operation "Noah's Ark" terminated, with "Pintail" still in service and "Teal" in course of being restored.⁸

A number of changes took place in the division during the three months that followed the return of the Canadians to the line. In the 28th Brigade, the Borderers were relieved by the 1st Battalion, The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment) in August, and the Shropshires were replaced by 1st Battalion, The Durham Light Infantry in September. In September, also the Norfolks were relieved by the 1st Battalion, The King's Regiment (Liverpool). In August, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson-Smith was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel E. A. C. Amy as G.S.O. 1 at Divisional Headquarters, and in September Major-General Cassels himself was relieved by Major-General M. M. Alston-Roberts-West.⁹ Late in October, the 1st Battalion, The Duke of Wellington's Regiment (West Riding) arrived in the divisional area to relieve the Welch.¹⁰

Fighting for No-Man's-Land 10 August to 23 October 1952

The Canadians had returned to the line on the eve of an important change in the general tactical situation. During the brigade's previous tour in the forward positions, the enemy had not followed a very active raiding policy. During the summer of 1952, however, he had gradually become

more aggressive. He moved into no-man's-land in some strength, attacking patrols, raiding forward positions and generally making his presence felt in areas where he had previously moved very quietly, if at all. At the same time, he increased the volume of his harassing fire on the forward positions, and supported his raids by powerful concentrations of mortar and artillery fire.

In general, the Commonwealth troops had received less of these attentions than had their neighbours, a circumstance which Major-General West (who, shortly after arriving in the Division, had decided to simplify his name) attributed to the system of defence adopted by the division. Unlike American formations, the 1st Commonwealth Division had made no use of outposts, preferring instead to maintain standing patrols forward of the main positions. These groups, being less committed than outposts to the occupation of specific features, were correspondingly more difficult for the enemy to reconnoitre and pinch off in a raid, and since they seldom consisted of more than an N.C.O. and five or six men, heavily supported by artillery and machine-gun fire, any operation against them would have proved very costly.¹¹

The increased enemy activity began late in September and assumed formidable proportions in October and November. It affected the western and central sectors of the front, held from left to right by the 1st U.S., the 9th U.S., and the 2nd R.O.K. Corps.¹² The fighting took the form of raids and limited attacks against outpost and forward positions, most of which lay in the vicinity of important features. On the right of the 1st U.S. Corps' front, in the Ch'orwon area, the 2nd U.S. Infantry Division lost some ground near heights covering the classic invasion route south to Seoul. On the left, the Marine Division lost outposts in front of the "Hook" which covered another route south-east to Seoul.¹³

At first, the Commonwealth Division remained undisturbed by direct attack, and comparatively unaffected by the fighting elsewhere. During the latter part of September, however, a number of sharp engagements were fought close to the division's right flank, when the 3rd U.S. Infantry Division lost several outposts to Chinese raids.¹⁴ All this, of course, was in the future as the infantry of the 25th Brigade filed along the communication trenches to their weapon pits and bunkers in the early part of August. No operations of any great moment had taken place while the brigade was in reserve, and its first operation on return to the line, Operation "Trojan", did not involve the possibility of heavy casualties.

"Trojan" was a deception scheme aimed at giving the enemy the impression that American troops had replaced Commonwealth units about Hill 355. It was hoped that the Chinese would be tempted to investigate this curious occurrence and that casualties could be inflicted and prisoners taken as a result. U.S. Army steel helmets had been temporarily issued to the Canadian infantry prior to their movement into the line, and, in the

early morning hours of 9 August, all brigade wireless stations began to transmit on new frequencies, using U.S. Army wireless procedure. The subterfuge apparently met with some success, for a week after it began Chinese voices were heard on one of the brigade's wireless sets, calling "Hello American, hello American". The deception was maintained until 24 August when normal procedure was resumed,¹⁵ but no enemy raids occurred.

Meanwhile, life in the front line had become difficult. The brigade's new sector was one of the most heavily-shelled areas on the front of the 1st U.S. Corps. A steady trickle of casualties due to shelling and mortaring began to flow back through the regimental aid posts. Tanks deployed on the tops of hills became the targets of accurate and heavy concentrations, harrying crews and causing casualties among nearby infantry. In an effort to misdirect this shelling, dummy tanks were erected on unoccupied summits, but no great success attended this manoeuvre. Towards the end of August torrential rains began to fall again. Enemy shelling diminished while this rain was falling, but the water did as much – and perhaps more – damage to the positions than the shells had done. Over 150 bunkers collapsed or became unserviceable between 18 and 25 August. When the skies cleared and the slime began to dry, the enemy resumed his shelling with redoubled vigour.¹⁶

Although the Chinese, possibly influenced belatedly by Operation "Trojan", began at last to feel out the front of the brigade,¹⁷ the Canadians did not patrol in any strength until the end of the month, when P.P.C.L.I. and R.C.R. fighting patrols crossed the valley. The Patricias did not make contact, though they found some freshly-dug trenches; the R.C.R. patrol struggled up the slope of Hill 227, but found its way to the summit barred by old wire.¹⁸

Early in September, a situation which had been anticipated in Ottawa for some six months finally materialized when Lieutenant-Colonel Trudeau began to run seriously short of reinforcements. In March the Vice Adjutant-General had informed the V.C.G.S. that there were insufficient trained soldiers available to keep the Royal 22e at full strength. Subsequently, the General Staff had ruled that the unit could operate below strength while the front on which it was employed remained quiet. At the end of the first week of September, the unit showed a total posted strength of 687.¹⁹ It was, in other words, short nearly 300 officers and men. To illustrate what this meant, "C" Company, on the very vulnerable Hill 159, had a total strength in the line of 55 all ranks.²⁰ Since it was obviously impossible to maintain four companies, "A" Company was broken up and its men distributed among the three remaining companies. At the same time, the R.C.R. left boundary was moved south-west to include the "A" Company area. This position was then assigned to "E" Company, an *ad hoc* company made up of men from the other R.C.R. rifle companies and the echelons.²¹ As a re-

sult of this development, Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham, who was already responsible for the most active part of the brigade's front, also had the largest battalion area.

In September the monsoon rains ceased, and the soldiers began to repair their positions in reasonable confidence that fresh downpours would not destroy their work as soon as it was completed. Enemy shelling continued to be heavy, and bitter patrol clashes occurred from time to time. There was, however, no clear indication, either in the nature or scale of the enemy activity, of the heavy fighting that was to break out later in the month. On the night 5-6 September an ambush patrol from "B" Company, 1st R. 22e R. detected approximately 60 Chinese filing along a ridge toward its position. The patrol called artillery fire down on the enemy and withdrew. Subsequently, another patrol was sent out to find the leader of the first patrol, who had not returned with his group.* As this second patrol approached the spot which the first patrol had left, it heard the missing man shout a warning that there were still Chinese in the area. The patrol then went to ground and exchanged grenades with the enemy while heavy fire from both sides blanketed the slopes. By the time the second patrol had got back inside the wire and the front had quieted down, the unit had lost four killed, five wounded and one missing.²²

A few days later a small patrol from the R.C.R., led by Lieutenant H. R. Gardner, spent 48 hours deep behind enemy-held lines across the valley from their positions. They passed part of this time observing the activity about a kitchen, where about 20 enemy soldiers were being fed.²³ Then, before dawn on 24 September, Lieutenant Gardner led a second patrol to this kitchen area, with the object of taking a prisoner. Near the kitchen he found a signal wire, which he broke. As he had expected, an enemy soldier attempting to find the break soon came along the path. When he reached the point where the wire had been broken, the patrol seized him. Despite his very determined struggles, they succeeded in subduing him and getting him back alive to their own lines. For this daring exploit Lieutenant Gardner was awarded the M.C., while Corporal K. E. Fowler, who had been on both patrols, received the M.M.

At 5:30 a.m. on 5 October the 29th Brigade took over from the 28th on the left of the divisional front,²⁴ and the 28th Brigade went into reserve on "Wyoming". The 28th had held the left sector for slightly longer than three months, ever since it had taken over from the 25th Brigade on 30 June. During this time, the formation had followed an active raiding policy,

*The good work of Sgt. J. R. Champoux, who was in command of the platoon locality from which the second patrol was found, is mentioned in his citation for the award of the M.M. The citation also refers to the skill and courage displayed by this N.C.O. during the enemy probe of the unit's forward positions on 17 August. L/Cpl. J. R. Gingras, who led the second patrol, also distinguished himself, and his determination and courage on the occasion (5-6 September) are mentioned in his citation for the M. M.

and had suffered heavy casualties.²⁵ During the first part of October, the Commonwealth troops were left comparatively undisturbed, although heavy fighting took place to the east, on the 3rd U.S. Infantry Division's front. The enemy, it is true, became more active in no-man's-land, but he did not, until the latter part of the month, attack the forward positions, as he was doing further east. The lull, however, was not to last.

On the night 12-13 October, 1st Commonwealth Division carried out two raids in order to create a diversion for an attack by the 1st R.O.K. Division on the right. This formation had replaced the 3rd U.S. Infantry Division and was attempting to regain the forward positions which had been lost in the heavy fighting of the latter part of September. In the event, the South Korean attack did not materialize, but the Commonwealth Division was not informed of the change of plan and launched its two raids. On the left, a company from the 1st King's crossed the Sami-ch'on and occupied a small feature without contact. During its withdrawal, however, it was heavily shelled and mortared and lost three wounded. On the right, "B" Company, 1st R.C.R. attacked Hill 227. The company was ambushed on the forward slopes of the feature and suffered casualties before it could extricate itself.²⁶

Three nights later, the Patricias sent a patrol to the slope of a ridge running south-east from the height immediately to the north of Hill 217. The patrol detected enemy activity on the objective and Sergeant J. H. Richardson, its commander, had just called for artillery fire on this target when an enemy platoon, which apparently came on the spot by chance, moved in. A man ran towards him and Richardson thought he was one of his own. "I started to ask him what he was up to," Richardson reported later, "when he shot me in the stomach ... so I shot him in the face. All hell broke loose." The parties soon became intermingled and a confusing fire fight broke out in which the Patricias lost eight more wounded and two killed. Richardson remained in command – although wounded again in the leg – and called for artillery fire to hold off the enemy. This was provided effectively and Richardson's patrol returned to base, bringing their wounded with them.²⁷ The Patricias' Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, has described this patrol as "an outstanding example of courage and skill" and considers that Richardson richly deserved the recognition given – the Distinguished Conduct Medal.²⁸ The increased enemy activity, particularly in the vicinity of Hills 227 and 217 indicated that the Chinese were up to something on that sector of the front. Their intentions became quite clear a week later.

The Attack on Three Five Five 23-24 October 1952

Hill 355 was known to the Americans as "Little Gibraltar" and from

the rear it bore a striking resemblance to its namesake. To the north and west, however, the descent was more gradual. The lower slopes of the hill were bounded on the north and south by two east-west valleys, and on the west by a draw which contained two saddles. The first of these saddles lay due west of Hill 355, and connected the feature with Hill 227; the second lay to the north-west and joined Hill 355 with the Kip'un'gol feature. The valleys to the north and south were continuous, with developed tracks running along them. Hill 355 and the adjacent features to the west and north-west had been the scene of bitter fighting, on varying scales, since the area was first occupied during Operation "Commando" in October 1951. From the Canadian point of view, the most notable action had been the defence by the 2nd R. 22e R. of the positions on the Hill 227 saddle.

Five company areas lay within the R.C.R. boundaries.²⁹ Of these, Area I lay in the angle formed by the valley to the south of Hill 355 and the draw to the west of the hill. The area looked across the draw to the south-east slopes of Hill 227, and its northern extremity approached the saddle connecting Hill 355 with Hill 227. A depression to the rear of the area opened on the valley running south of Hill 355. Area II soon to come under attack, lay immediately east of the saddle between Hill 355 and Hill 227, the kitchen area being in the south-east corner, accessible to the valley south of Hill 355. The platoon positions of Area III ran due west in a line from the peak of Hill 355. To the north of these positions the ground fell away in gullies and folds to the northern valley and the Kip'un'gol saddle some 700 to 1,000 yards distant. Areas III and IV, on the crests of 355, were served by a cableway,* the approaches from the south and east being too precipitous for supply by normal means. Area V lay to the rear of Area IV and served to add some depth to the battalion position.

The enemy's artillery preparation for his attack on Area II began on 1 October, when his guns and mortars fired nearly 1,000 rounds into the R.C.R. positions. Most of this fire fell on Area II. Next day he repeated the performance. Although he fired only 600 rounds on this occasion, he succeeded in destroying the field defences in the "Vancouver" outpost,† and in knocking out the tank in the left or southern platoon position of Area II. The unit abandoned "Vancouver" after this shelling and the enemy moved in close to the left forward localities. He moved in so close, in fact, that his patrols were able to throw stones into the perimeter wire, a device which was probably intended to draw the defenders' fire and determine the defensive arrangements. On the night 12-13 October, as we have seen, lie ambushed "B" Company as it was advancing on Hill 227.

*Another cableway was added later.³⁰

†A forward position on the track running across the Hill 227 saddle. The shelling buried the command post and killed or wounded most of the soldiers in the position. Lieut. A. M. King's courage in going forward to dig out and evacuate the survivors is mentioned in his recommendation for the M.C.

After the heavy bombardment of the first three days of October, the hostile fire slackened until the 17th, when it began to increase again. On 21 October approximately 1,600 rounds hit the R.C.R. and although there was a lull on the 22nd, it began again on the 23rd. The greater part of this shelling fell on Area 11.

“B” Company, 1st R.C.R. (Major E. L. Cohen) relieved “D” in Area II some time after last light on 22 October. When this relief was completed the unit was deployed with “E” Company in Area I, “B” Company in Area II, “A” in Area III and “C” and “D” in Areas IV and V respectively. The three platoon positions of Area II, which were on a north-south line immediately east of the Hill 227 saddle, were occupied from south to north by Nos. 4, 5 and 6 Platoons. No. 5 Platoon’s positions in the middle were roughly 300 yards east of the track across the Hill 227 saddle. No. 14 Platoon of “E” Company was the flanking platoon to the south, and No. 2 Platoon (“A” Company) was immediately east of Nos. 4 and 5 on the western crest of 355.

When “B” Company moved into Area II, it found the field defences very badly damaged. The greater part of the reserve ammunition stored in the weapon pits had been buried, most of the bunkers had caved in and the telephone lines had been cut. The company remained at the alert after dark, one of the occupants of each weapon pit watching while the other rested on the bottom of the pit, huddled in his poncho. From time to time heavy explosions added to the noise of bursting shells; the Canadians assumed that this added uproar was the enemy working on the forward wire, but the weight of fire prevented retaliation.

During this bombardment, the enemy began to move in on the positions. Three Chinese were shot from a weapon pit in No. 4 Platoon’s area. They fell within ten feet of the pit, their weapons still slung. According to a later conjecture they were engaged in cutting the wire in the gully between No. 4 and 5 Platoons. At any rate, there were no further contacts that night. The shelling finally succeeded in demolishing all the bunkers in the 6 Platoon area and the survivors were drawn into No. 5’s area, where the soldiers of both platoons got some rest in the few bunkers which remained habitable. Dawn on the 23rd saw no let up in the heavy shelling and except for a small detachment manning the company’s observation post, everyone kept below ground throughout the day.

During the afternoon, the bunker which housed No. 5 Platoon’s command post caved in, and Lieutenant Gardner (6 Platoon), now without a command post of any sort, took shelter in a nearby trench with Sergeant G. E. P. Enright of No. 5 Platoon. At that time, there was no communication, either by line or wireless, between the platoons or with company headquarters. In addition, the wire between the company and the battalion kept going out, except one in the kitchen area, leaving only the wireless link. Lieutenant J. Clark, the commander of No. 5 Platoon, spent most of

the day in liaison between the platoon areas and company headquarters, while Lieutenant Gardner remained with his own and Clark's platoon.

Around 5:00 p.m. Gardner and Enright began an attempt to re-organize the men in the No. 5 Platoon area. The two platoons, whose combined strength at this time was approximately 30, had no communication, except by runner, with company headquarters. Gardner sent a message back, suggesting that a part of the two platoons be withdrawn and re-organized. On receipt of this message Major Cohen sent Clark to the kitchen area to ask battalion headquarters for the necessary authority, which involved asking "A" Company to take over defence of the communication trench connecting them. Clark found the wire in the kitchen area dead. Accordingly he carried the message himself to the battalion command post, using Cohen's jeep, where he outlined the company's situation and received permission to withdraw and re-organize the two platoons. The battle adjutant, Major Holmes, would not, however, consent to spreading "A" Company any further. Holmes had made a careful study of the daily shell and mortar reports over the past thirty days and was convinced that the attack would come that night. On Clark's return about 6:00 p.m. he accompanied Major Cohen to No. 5 Platoon's area, where they met Gardner and together set about planning the re-organization. Cohen recalls that as he and his platoon commanders talked, he remarked on the beauty of the sunset, which cast an orange-red glow over all the hills around. He had just issued his orders when the enemy, who had previously slackened his fire appreciably, suddenly put down a tremendous concentration which lasted for eight to ten minutes. Then it lifted to the positions on the left and right, where it held for some 45 minutes, effectively sealing "B" Company off from its neighbours.

Lieutenant D. G. Loomis, one of the platoon commanders in "E" Company, later wrote of this fire:

Its effect can hardly be described. It was shattering. I stopped counting rounds about halfway through this bombardment—at 700—and I only counted the orange flashes which I could see. Before it was over visibility was less than an arm's length due to the heavy pall of black fumes which also caused everyone's eyes to waters.³¹

Within "B" Company, the three officers were driven to ground by the bombardment. When it lifted, Gardner checked to the left. Finding no enemy in that direction, he started getting the men up into the trenches. At the same time Cohen and Clark moved off to the right, to organize some sort of defence on that flank. They picked up a few "B" Company men, to which they added the members of two "D" Company standing patrols who were passing through Area II on their way forward for the night's watch. Some of the "B" Company soldiers had no weapons, others had no ammunition. Cohen sent four or five of them to the right under a corporal, as a grenade-throwing party. By this time enemy small arms fire in the area was heavy, but Cohen and Clark with five or six men fought their way back along the

communication trench to "A" Company's nearest fire bays where they organized a blocking position. The grenade-throwing party moved south towards No. 5 Platoon's position, where Gardner was still very much in action.

Shortly after Major Cohen and Lieutenant Clark had moved to the right portion of the company area, Gardner manned a slit trench where he was joined by the group from the right, who told him that the Chinese were coming in from that direction. Shortly afterwards the enemy appeared in some strength, and Gardner engaged them with his machine carbine, the five men indicating targets. The whole position was so swept by fire that it was impossible to move anywhere without being shot, either by the enemy or by the defenders of the position.

Initially, as we have seen, the enemy fire and movement came only from the right. Suddenly, however, Chinese soldiers appeared on the left. Seeing this, Lieutenant Gardner gave the order to move up the hill to the "A" Company perimeter. As soon as he left his shelter, however, he was wounded by mortar fragments in the right forearm and both legs; he also received a bullet wound in the upper right arm. A lance corporal near him was blown apart by a mortar bomb. Further movement in the open was impossible, and Gardner played dead while the Chinese milled about the position, shouting and blowing horns. When they had disappeared, Gardner made his way to "A" Company, taking with him a man who had been wounded in the leg. These two entered "A" Company area through No. 2 Platoon's position, by this time held by the group commanded by Lieutenant Clark. Subsequently, Clark organized a larger force and improved the position, which he held during the remainder of the engagement.

Major Cohen's report to battalion headquarters, received at 7:43 p.m., cleared up a good deal of the uncertainty which had, until that time, restricted the activity of the command post. Major F. Klenavic, who was in command – Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham was on leave – now learned from Cohen that Lieutenant Clark and 12 men had reached the "A" Company lines and that no friendly troops remained in action in Area II. Seven minutes earlier, it had been established that the standing patrols had not gone out, since the enemy's attack had coincided with the normal time for these groups to go forward.

Captain H. G. Cloutier, commanding "E" Company, had been reporting his observation of the developments within Area II, but these reports became progressively less useful as smoke and dust obscured the area from view. At 6:36 p.m., the commander of No. 4 Platoon had arrived at battalion headquarters with a report that his platoon too had been overrun. Neither his report nor the information from "E" Company, however, clarified the situation with Area II sufficiently to justify a change in the fire plan, which had been requested as soon as the attack began. As a result, artillery and heavy mortar fire continued to fall on approaches and likely enemy

forming up places until Major Cohen's report and the information about the standing patrols had been received.

Provided at last with a reasonably clear picture of the situation, Klenavic ordered the battalion supporting weapons to fire on Area II and on the standing patrol positions. At the same time he began to put the counter-attack plan into operation. "A" Company of the 1st Royal Fusiliers had replaced "D" Company in Area V and the latter began to move up. At about 9:00 p.m., however, a sudden increase in the enemy fire on Areas I and III led to the conclusion that the former of these areas was in turn about to be attacked.* Immediately, Commonwealth artillery began a very heavy bombardment of Area II, Hill 227, the draw to the west of Hill 355 and the valley to the north. Shortly afterwards, the hostile fire slackened and Major Klenavic decided that the threat of further attack had ended. He ordered "D" Company to move in to the counter-attack, the right flanking platoon to create a diversion. This manoeuvre cost one killed and two wounded. Finally, at approximately 1:10 a.m., the assault began. After a brisk fire-fight during the approach, the left platoon moved into the former positions of No. 4 Platoon without meeting further opposition and the right platoon occupied the No. 5 Platoon area in the same manner. By 3:30 a.m. the platoons had linked up and the situation was restored. "C" Company (which had been relieved by "D" Company of the 1st P.P.C.L.I.) now came forward and occupied the position.

The R.C.R. was warm in its praise of the artillery support during this engagement. "A" Battery of the 1st R.C.H.A. in particular was singled out for thanks. Its Forward Observation Officer, Captain D. S. Caldwell, controlled the fire from an observation post on top of 355 that was hit repeatedly by enemy shells and badly damaged, but he and his crew remained in action. His contribution to the battle was described in his award later of the Military Cross. Major Holmes, who was acting as operations officer in the battalion command post said later:

The Artillery won the battle due to a Fire Plan Teddy Leslie [C.O. of 1st R.C.H.A.] had up his sleeve for just such an event as developed. I recall the South Korean [who was monitoring the Chinese wireless net] reporting that the Chinese commander gave a Situation Report to his Headquarters something along the lines of "I am boxed in by artillery fire. I can't get reinforcements forward."

There is little doubt that the artillery in fact broke up Phase II of the Chinese attack.³²

*There is not sufficient information available on the enemy's part in this engagement to confirm this appreciation of his intentions. The fire may have been brought down to cover a withdrawal.

ATTACK AGAINST "B" COY 1 R.C.R. 23 OCTOBER 1952



Defence wire
Chinese defences
Contours indicated by layer tints: 100, 180, 260, 340 metres



AREA V
TAKEN OVER
BY "A" COY
1/R.F. 8.00 PM
23 OCT

No reliable figures are available on the casualties suffered by "B" Company during this engagement. The casualties sustained by the whole of 1st R.C.R. on 23 and 24 October 1952 amounted to 18 killed, 35 wounded and 14 prisoners of war.³³ Some of these were no doubt suffered by other companies.

Two awards of the Military Cross and one of the Military Medal were made as a result of this action. Captain Cloutier of "E" Company won the M.C., together with Lieutenant Clark. Sergeant Enright was awarded the M.M. for his stout-hearted performance.

The divisional front was relatively quiet on 24 October, and continued so during the week that was left of the 25th Brigade's tour of duty.³⁴ The respite gave the R.C.R. an opportunity to re-organize, and to restore its positions. Lance Corporal M. J. Nixon, sent forward to the "Vancouver" position to establish a listening post, discovered six large bunkers which had evidently protected the Chinese prior to their attack. He found bloodstained bandages, pieces of enemy equipment and convincing evidence of the presence of a large number of troops. This discovery solved the puzzle of the speed with which the enemy had penetrated the position after his artillery fire lifted. Next day, he led a patrol from the pioneer platoon to the "Vancouver" position and blew up the bunkers.³⁵ For his initiative and daring, Nixon was awarded the British Empire Medal.

While the Commonwealth Division enjoyed a quiet period during the last week of October, the 1st U.S. Marine Division to its left was heavily attacked. On the night 26-27 October, the Chinese came in on the outposts covering the "Hook", and even on the "Hook" itself. The situation was not completely restored until 6:25 a.m. on the 29th.³⁶

This attack was of more than passing interest since the Commonwealth Division was also destined to spend some busy and trying hours defending the "Hook". Possession of the height, which lay west of the Sami-ch'on, immediately across the valley from the left battalion area of the 29th Brigade, was important in denying the enemy observation of a good part of the rear area, and the latest replacement unit to enter the theatre, the 3rd P.P.C.L.I., would soon be responsible for holding it.

CHAPTER XVI

JOCKEYING FOR POSITION

The Second Autumn Rotation— November 1952

ON COMPLETION of the relief of the 25th Brigade and the change in the divisional boundaries, the Commonwealth Division had two brigades in the line, the 29th on the left, the 28th on the right. The 25th Brigade (except for “B” Company of the Royal 22e which was under command of the Black Watch in the “Hook” area), was in rear of the forward positions, carrying out the training programme customary for reserve formations, while sending men off on leave, checking stores and catching up on unit administration.

South of the Imjin, in the P.P.C.L.I. echelon area, the newly arrived 3rd Patricias were preparing to relieve the 1st.¹ The former, it will be remembered, had been organized in Fort Lewis, Washington, and had spent the intervening period in 25 Replacement Group, training reinforcements. The unit had come to Korea about 200 under strength, for it was to absorb some 300 officers and men of the 1st Battalion who were not yet due for rotation.² At noon on 3 November, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel H. F. Wood, the 3rd P.P.C.L.I. replaced the 1st Battalion on the order of battle of the 25th Brigade.³ The two units exchanged positions, the paratroopers to prepare for their return to Canada, the newcomers to begin the last phase of their training for operations in Korea.⁴

During this training period, the new battalion was also responsible for counter-attacks to restore the “Hook” positions held by the Black Watch of the 29th Brigade should any of these be taken by the enemy.⁵ This responsibility gave rise to an unusual incident in the training programme, when it led to one of the exercises (a rehearsal of the counter-attack plan) being run with live ammunition and a real enemy. Mention has already been made of the “Hook”, the scene of this action. It now becomes necessary to describe the feature and its surroundings in some detail, since the defence of this area, which had already cost some Canadian lives in March 1952, was to lead to many Commonwealth casualties before the end of the fighting in Korea.

As in the case of the positions around Hill 355, an unnamed tributary of the Sami-ch'on divided the opposing forces in the “Hook” area. Flowing from the west, it joined the Sami-ch'on roughly three miles upstream from the point where it enters the Imjin river. The valley of this tributary is dominated on the south side by a crest line which runs from north-west to

south-east. Hill 146, which lies within the angle enclosed by the Sami-ch'on and its tributary, forms the eastern end of the crest line. The "Hook" lies approximately 1,500 yards north-west of Hill 146, and marks the western limit of the hill system. Observation of the lower Sami-ch'on valley was possible from the "Hook", and for this reason its retention by the U.N. forces was essential. Major-General West judged that, had it been lost to the enemy, a withdrawal of 4,000 yards would have been necessary.⁶

When the Commonwealth Division moved its left boundary west across the Sami-ch'on, the Black Watch occupied the "Hook" area in three company localities along the crest. The fourth company was on Hill 121, to the south of the "Hook".⁷ The 3rd P.P.C.L.I. occupied a reserve area approximately 3,000 yards still farther south. Unlike its predecessor, the unit had not carried out an exercise at battalion level prior to assuming an active role. On 15 November, however, a rehearsal of Operation "Ipperwash" – the counterattack in the Black Watch area – was conducted.

"Ipperwash" provided for the restoration of three company areas – the centre forward company position, the "Hook" itself, and Hill 121 (after further penetration had been blocked). Troops were to be transported forward to a debussing point, and to march from there to the forming up place appropriate to the area being counter-attacked. The plan also provided that two companies be moved to the Samok-tong feature and to Hill 98 as soon as possible after any heavy enemy attack developed.⁸

Three days after the rehearsal, on the night of 18-19 November, the enemy moved in on the "Hook" in a massive attack and it became necessary to launch an amended form of "Ipperwash" as an actual operation of war.* The company which had been earmarked for the first phase was in the echelons on bath parade when the front erupted and another, "B" Company (Major J. R. Roberts), had to be substituted. The plan called for the relief of "B" Company of the Black Watch (which was occupying the centre of the crest positions) thus freeing it for counter-attack. The relief took place without incident on the immediate flank of the savage fighting on the "Hook" and "B" Company of the Patricias came under command of the Black Watch where it remained undisturbed except for mortar and shell fire during the subsequent fighting. The Black Watch "B" Company put in its counterattack but was unable to clear the "Hook" and with all reserves thus committed (including the battalion's magnificent pipe band) the Commander of the 29th Brigade (Brigadier A. H. G. Ricketts) called for another Patricia company and a troop of Lord Strathcona tanks. Brigadier Bogert quickly approved the request.

The diarist of the P.P.C.L.I. recorded the action that followed:

At 0315 hours "C" Company moved up complete with FOO, reserve ammunition

*The account of this action is based on the author's personal knowledge and the P.P.C.L.I. war diary.

and KSC [Korean Service Corps] porters. Major McPhail received his orders at 0430 hours in the vicinity of BW CP. By 0530 hours "C" Company had reached their FUP. As the situation still was not clear the company deployed, waited, then crossed the start line at first light (0615 hours). The long wait in the bitter cold was very uncomfortable. The temperature had fallen to 10 degrees.

9 P1 under Lt. Halahan moved first to the shoulder of the Hook feature. 8 P1 under 2-Lt. Anderson and 7 P1 with Lt. Marvin passed through in succession to the top of Hook.

Just prior to the arrival of the two platoons, all enemy except the dead had vacated the feature. Evacuation of enemy casualties was still taking place on spur leading to Warsaw outpost.

As the BW troops on Hook had suffered heavy casualties and the entire position had been knocked about and disorganized, the two platoons posted sentries and then assisted in the evacuation of casualties.

Lt. Marvin accompanied by a BW corporal and one private moved out toward Warsaw in search of casualties who were known to be there. An enemy SMG fired from the bunker area on Warsaw, wounded Lt. Marvin and killed the BW private. Others of the party were prevented from reaching them because of enemy small arms fire. Lt. Marvin managed to crawl back to a ridge behind which the rest of the party and some others who had come to their assistance were gathered. The group then withdrew to Hook under continual small arms and mortar fire. During the withdrawal Lt. Marvin was again hit. The others were untouched.

Throughout the morning the Hook feature was subjected to sporadic shell and mortar fire, which inflicted some casualties. Shelling decreased in the afternoon, and by evening only the occasional one landed in the area.

"B" and "C" Companies, 3rd P.P.C.L.I. remained where they were for several days, under command of the Black Watch. The latter unit had suffered heavily in the engagement and required help while it reorganized. On 22 November, "C" Company was relieved, and two days later "B" Company rejoined the battalion.⁹ The remainder of the month was spent in training, and in preparation for the 25th Brigade's return to the forward positions.¹⁰

During November, winter came again to Korea. At night the temperature frequently dropped to 10 degrees Fahrenheit and by the end of the month frost was well into the ground. The air was clear and crisp on most days and the Canadians viewed the approaching season with equanimity; the Korean winter seemed much like that in Southern Ontario.

On the "Hook"

On 29 November, the 1st Commonwealth Division began a redeployment which it completed on the night of 1-2 December.¹¹ The object was to place three brigades in the line, each with two battalions forward.¹² Major-General West summarized the advantages as follows:

Brigade Commanders now have,

- (a) A two-battalion frontage instead of a three-battalion one, which was proving too much for them to control properly.



P.J. Tomelin

CHANGE OF COMMAND

Brigadier Rockingham introduces his successor, Brigadier M.P. Bogert (third from left), to officers of the 1st P.P.C.L.I. At left is the C.O., Lieutenant-Colonel N.G. Wilson-Smith.



G.E. Whittaker

LAST-MINUTE CHECK

Major D.E. Holmes, 1st R.C.R., briefing his officers and N.C.Os. for the company raid of the night of 21-22 June 1952.



G.E. Whittaker

PATROL LEADERS

Lieutenant H.R. Gardner and Corporal K.E. Fowler, after their daring daylight patrol in September 1952.



J.R. Marwick

FREEDOM VILLAGE

Group photograph taken during Operation "Little Switch", Left to right: Major-General M.M.A.R. West; Mr. Shin-Tae Yun, South Korea's Minister of National Defence; General Paik-Sun Yup, South Korea delegate to the truce talks; Brigadier J.V. Allard; and Brigadier G.P. Gregson, Commander, Royal Artillery, 1st Commonwealth Division.

- (b) Their own reserve battalion with which to counter-attack and with which to carry out inter-battalion reliefs at their own convenience.
- (c) A complete sector in depth instead of just a front line.¹³

As part of this redeployment, the Canadians moved back into the line on the left of the divisional front, in the "Hook" area, with the P.P.C.L.I. on the "Hook" itself. The 1st R. 22e R. had taken over the "Yongdong" system to the east of the Sami-ch'on, and in the Patricias' former reserve position lay the 1st R.C.R., except for "C" Company forward under Lieutenant-Colonel Wood's command.¹⁴ To the east of the Canadians was the 29th Brigade, and the 28th Brigade still held the right portion of the divisional sector.¹⁵

The Commonwealth troops held these positions for two months. The period was a relatively quiet one and the most important activity was the construction of much stronger defensive works than had been used hitherto by Commonwealth troops. The greater part of this work was done on the "Hook". In October, it will be recalled, the enemy's preparatory artillery concentrations had so pulverized the field defences of "B" Company of the R.C.R. that effective resistance from them was impossible, and when the division shifted left in November, to occupy the "Hook", work on tunnels into this feature started immediately. During the attack on the Black Watch, the enemy artillery had again flattened the open defences, but this time the defenders were able to take shelter in the tunnels as soon as their trenches were invaded, where they called down artillery fire on the Chinese above, a measure which prevented the enemy from consolidating his gains.¹⁶

When the 3rd P.P.C.L.I. and Royal 22e took over the forward battalion areas on each side of the Sami-ch'on, engineers assisted them to restore and strengthen the position.¹⁷ Top priority was given to the "Hook" area, and a troop from the 23rd Field Squadron began work there on the day following the Patricias' relief of the Black Watch.* Later, the greater part of the squadron was employed on the "Hook", together with three companies of South Korean labourers, working three eight-hour shifts per day. The defences prepared for the Royal 22e on the "Yongdong" feature were not so extensive, and engineer assistance there was limited to the provision of supervisors. Their effort centred on a tunnel leading from the rear of the feature to an artillery observation post on the forward slope, a "double-decker" bunker and a command post within the hall.

There was a basic difference in defensive doctrine between the U.S. and Commonwealth formations that made it difficult for a unit of one nationality to take over another's defensive locality. The Americans called their main position the "Main Line of Resistance" and built it largely as a line, along the lower slopes of the hills they were defending. The Com-

*This engineer work proved both difficult and dangerous, and an engineer officer, Lt. C. D. Carter, was awarded the M.C. partly as a result of his good work on the "Hook".

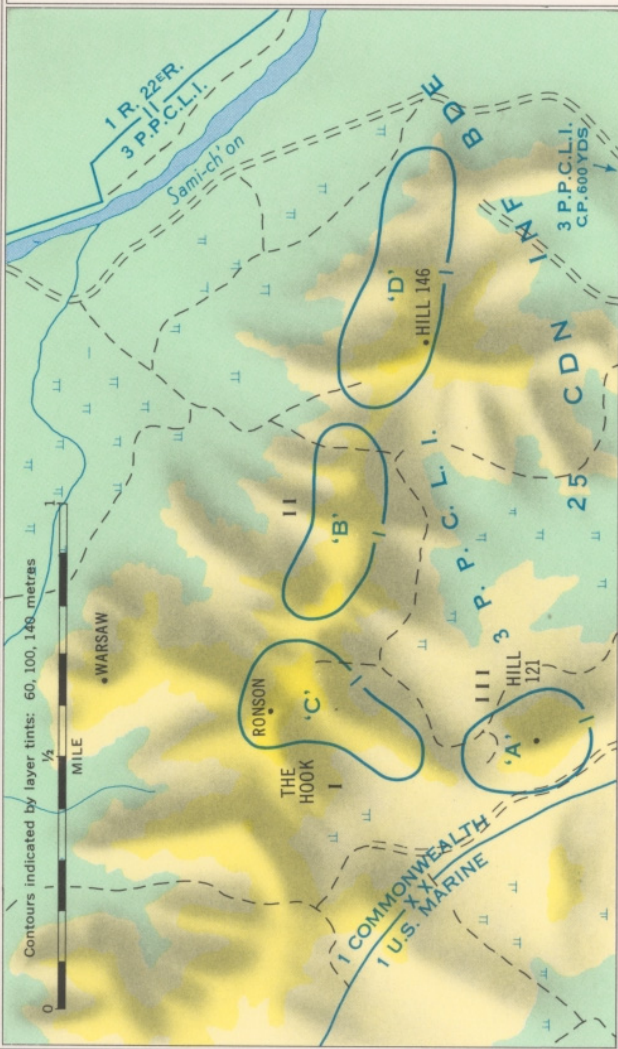
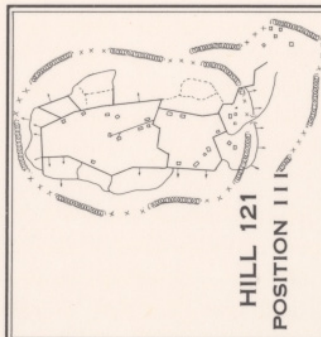
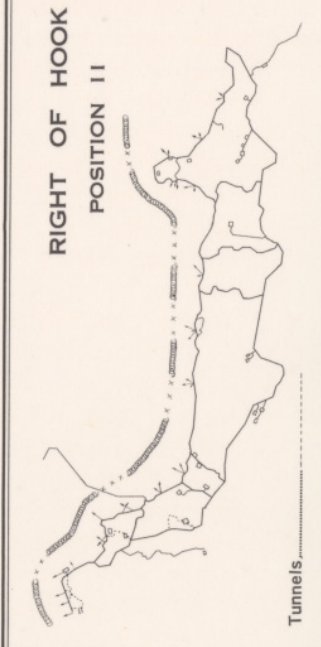
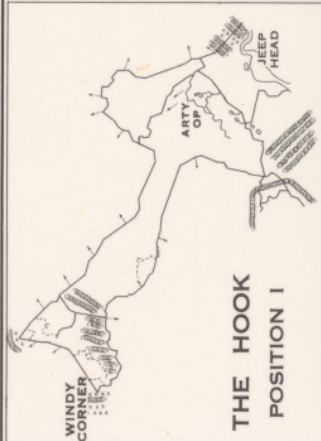
monwealth troops followed British doctrine for the most part and developed their hilltops into "Forward Defended Localities" with all round defence and interlocking fire plans.† The Americans claimed that this method resulted in inaccurate "plunging fire"; they wanted to be in a position to "close with" the enemy. The Commonwealth planners held the view that plunging fire was a small price to pay for making the enemy climb the steep open slopes. Whatever the merits of the two viewpoints, the result was a great deal of alteration each time an international relief took place, with much unnecessary digging and filling.

On taking over the "Hook" position the Commonwealth Division had found a trench-line of sorts which ran along the north-west and north-east faces. Another ran along the south-west face. This last, however, stopped short of the south-west corner, "Windy Corner", and was joined by a cross-trench to the line on the north-east face. The three short tunnels which were dug in the "Hook" during September, ran in from the trenches on the south-west, north-west and north-east faces. The company position immediately to the right of the "Hook" ran south-east in a relatively narrow line, while a single trench, which soon forked into two roughly parallel lines, ran along the position from left to right. Here three more tunnels were dug, one running in from the single trench, the other two entering the slope from the lower of the two lines of trenches – the line, that is, along the south-west face.

When the 23rd Field Squadron took over, the first leg of each of the "Hook" tunnels had been completed from an entrance in the trench-line opposite a fire bay to an underground chamber. It remained for the Canadian engineers to complete the excavation of some of the chambers and to run a second leg of each tunnel from the chamber to a new entrance, either in the same trench-line or in an adjacent one. This was done by the end of January, 368 feet being added to the existing tunnels, largely through solid rock. Plans were made to link up all the tunnels, but this project was never completed. The tunnels were about five feet eight inches high and three feet six inches wide. They were sharply angled a few feet in from the entrance, to minimize the effect of blast, and grenade traps were constructed at these turns. The legs were dug from both ends, and some difficulty was experienced at the junctions. In one case, there was a difference of ten feet in level between the two stretches of a tunnel; a ladder had to be placed in the well which was dug to connect them, much to the amusement of the troops and the embarrassment of the engineers.

Apart from the tunnelling, the greater part of the work consisted in

†It is a matter for conjecture how much the terminology influenced the construction. American field manuals do not direct that a "line" be built, but the word may have had some influence. On the other hand, a "locality" could *only* have been constructed on high ground. The low ground in Korea could not have been developed into "defended localities", consisting as it did of so many narrow valleys.



THE HOOK DEFENCES DECEMBER 1952

3 P.P.C.L.I. positions shown for 7 Dec 1952

Details of defence positions are taken from 23 Field Squadron R.C.E. war diaries to February 1953

deepening and revetting the original trenches, although several new lines were dug. Of the latter, the one at "Windy Corner" was the most important, since it completed the line along the south-west face of the "Hook". "Windy Corner" was not, as might be supposed, named because of its proximity to the enemy, but because, at some time in a previous occupation of the "Hook", troops had left dead Chinese buried here. Entrenching operations had disinterred enough foul ground to make the area anything but pleasant to work in on a warm day.

Work was done on the trenches in all three company areas. For the most part, hand tools were employed, although a compressed-air drill was used on the rear positions on the "Hook", from a special bunker built for the compressor unit. Rock, frozen ground and the fact that work in exposed trenches had to be done at night made progress slow. In spite of these and other difficulties 650 yards of new trench were dug, in addition to the deepening of the original system.

Since artillery played a vital role in breaking up enemy attacks, special care was given to the construction of an observation post from which the Forward Observation Officers could command a good view of the battlefield, uninterrupted by enemy attack or shelling. For this, a large underground chamber was built in the "Hook" and a tunnel was run from it to a second, smaller chamber immediately under the surface of the peak on the hill. An observation slit was opened in the wall of this second chamber, and the ground in front cratered to improve the field of view. The gunners themselves, with engineer supervision, ran a tunnel 80 feet long into Hill 146, and built a second underground observation post at the end of it.

Plans were also made to construct three underground machine-gun positions, by running branches out from the main tunnels, under the forward trenches and thence to the hillside below these trenches. A firing slit was then to be made in the hillside, with a chamber for the crew. Only one of these projected positions was completed, to the right of the "Hook", below the single trench-line mentioned previously.

The infantry also busied themselves in strengthening the positions, laying wire on the ridges leading to "Ronson" and "Warsaw" and in the Sami-ch'on valley, and placing steel overhead covers, provided by the engineers, on firing bays and weapon slits.* The engineers also dug two pre-fabricated sleeping bunkers into the "Hook", and prepared the excavations for six more on Hill 121. Thus, as January wore on, the "Hook" area came to have some of the defensive strength which an almost unbelievably vigorous hand digging programme had long ago given to the main Chinese

*Lt. H. C. Pitts commanded a wiring party from the P.P.C.L.I. that laid concertina wire around the "Windy Corner" on the nights of 30 November and 2 December. Working in an old minefield, a few yards from Chinese outposts, Lt. Pitts carried out this difficult assignment on schedule, although two of his party were killed during the operation when a mine exploded. His powers of leadership displayed on this occasion were later cited in awarding him the M.C.

positions.

On 2 December 1952, President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower, arrived in Korea. He had promised during his campaign to do this. The Korean war had become increasingly unpopular with Americans and its prosecution had been one of the chief issues of the November elections. Mr. Eisenhower spent three days inspecting units and on his return to Washington, made it clear that American patience was running out. In his State of the Union address in February 1953, he stated that he was issuing orders to the U.S. Seventh Fleet to stop the patrols which had been designed to neutralize Formosa and prevent guerrilla attacks on the Communist mainland.

Meanwhile, of course, the fighting went on, but at a reduced tempo. The heavy Chinese attacks and raids of October and November were not renewed in the following two months, and patrolling and patrol encounters were the principal activities during this period. Standing, reconnaissance, ambush and fighting patrols, together with frequent "stand to's" under warning of Chinese attack, provided constant employment. During January, there were indications that the patrol policy which had been in effect in May and June was about to be revived. Reporting on this development, Major-General West wrote:

During January there was a drive throughout 8th Army to get more POW, and there were indications that I Corps was going to bring out a patrol policy ordering every forward battalion to send out so many patrols per night or week. To forestall this I issued a special divisional patrol policy ... and this has had the desired effect as we have now received a Corps instruction deprecating the practice of laying down an arbitrary number of patrols to be carried out by forward units.¹⁸

Major-General West's memorandum on patrol policy stressed the importance of giving each patrol a specific task. It deplored the practice of patrolling for patrolling's sake (sending "so many patrols per so many days"), and stated that the tactical situation on each battalion and even company front must dictate the patrol plan for that front.¹⁹ Apparently the 1st U.S. Corps staff was persuaded of the wisdom of this doctrine. No order was issued to impose a rigid patrol plan on the whole corps front. This made it possible to adjust patrol plans to the requirements of individual sectors.

On the Canadian front, two widely-different conditions existed. The left flank, in the "Ronson", "Seattle" and "Warsaw" areas, was in very close contact with the enemy. To the right, contact was not so close, since the opposing troops were separated by the broad Sami-ch'on valley. Patrolling was equally vigorous on both flanks, but those sent in from the right had to cover much more ground. No really serious contacts developed from any of these patrols, since the action in most cases was to withdraw on detecting the enemy in order to bring down an artillery or mortar concentration on the spot where the Chinese had been seen.²⁰ The right of the divisional front, however, was not so quiet. Patrols of the 28th Brigade became

involved in several bloody encounters in the Hill 355-227 area, and suffered rather heavy casualties.²¹

On 28 December, the P.P.C.L.I. and the R.C.R. exchanged positions, one company of the former battalion remaining forward under command of the relieving unit.²² The 3rd Patricia's first month in action had been unexceptional; the most unusual event was the spectacular Yuletide spirit displayed on several occasions by the Chinese. These culminated, three days before Christmas, in a gift of Christmas trees, cards and small trinkets, the whole surmounted by a huge banner over twenty feet long, which dawn disclosed on "Ronson", less than 100 yards from the Canadian forward positions.²³

The R.C.R.'s month on the "Hook" was also quiet. Although the unit patrolled actively, few contacts were made, and none of these resulted in heavy casualties. On the night of 12-13 January 1953, a patrol to "Seattle" had several of its members wounded by a grenade a Chinese soldier threw at the assault group, just as it was approaching a trench on the northern end of the feature. The explosion wounded the patrol leader and prompted a withdrawal, which the enemy followed with mortar and small arms fire. Except for a few similar incidents, the month's patrolling was uneventful, nor did the enemy bestir himself actively in the immediate vicinity of the "Hook" positions.* The snipers, to whose training particular attention had been paid in November when the unit was in reserve, ran up an impressive score of kills, and the unit pounded the enemy positions continually with concentrations of mortar and artillery fire. Toward the end of the month, preparations for a handover began and on 30 January the R.C.R. moved off the "Hook", on relief by a battalion of the 2nd U.S. Infantry Division.²⁴

While the 1st R.C.H.A. stood fast, the rest of the Canadians followed the R.C.R. into reserve and moved to an area some seven miles south of the Imjin-Hantan junction.²⁵ This move was part of Operation "Thames", in which all but the artillery of the 1st Commonwealth Division† went into reserve for the first time since its formation in July 1951.²⁶ Although the headquarters of the infantry brigades had made short moves during the many trips into and out of the line, they had been in static positions since the adjustments which followed Operation "Commando". Possibly as a result of this state of affairs, H.Q. 25th Brigade had acquired a staggering amount of baggage, including a portable officers' mess made of plywood and canvas, and had reached a strength of approximately 200 all ranks. Apparently the same sort of thing had happened to American units in Korea, for the diarist of the Canadian brigade headquarters mentions that the Headquarters which relieved it, the 38th 'U.S. Infantry Regiment's, was

*The military skill and power of leadership displayed by Lieut. D. G. Loomis (1 R.C.R.) during the patrols of this period are mentioned in his citation for the M.C.

†The artillery remained forward to support the 2nd Division, whose own artillery was supporting the 1st R.O.K. Division.

300 strong.²⁷

The 1st Commonwealth Division remained in reserve from 30 January until 8 April. On 11 February, Lieutenant-General Van Fleet handed over command of the Eighth Army to Lieutenant-General Maxwell Taylor, a paratrooper who had led the 101st U.S. Airborne Division in the campaign in North-West Europe. Three weeks later, on 5 March 1953, Joseph Stalin, President of the Soviet Council of Ministers, died, to be succeeded by Georgi Malenkov. World opinion reacted cautiously, alert for any sign of a relaxation of East-West tensions, but in Korea operations continued. In addition to training in mobile operations which included one exercise at corps level, two developments of some importance occurred during this period. The first was a scheme to augment the infantry units of the division by the addition of South Korean soldiers. The other was the beginning of the second major rotation of Canadian units in Korea.

The “Katcoms”

South Korean soldiers had served in American formations for many months but there had never been any suggestion that such a scheme was necessary or desirable for the units of the Commonwealth Division. On 20 July 1952, however, Brigadier Bogert wired Ottawa that the Commonwealth formations had been asked to accept “a certain number of basically trained. Koreans for service with infantry.”²⁸ Bogert explained that the United Nations Command had undertaken the training of Korean nationals as infantry reinforcements in large numbers with the expectation that “as far as possible Korean troops would ultimately take over in contact with enemy.” Now there were more basically trained troops than could be equipped and absorbed into existing Korean units. The U.N. Command could provide 500-man groups, without officers or N.C.Os., to be absorbed by Commonwealth infantry battalions in lots of about 100 each. They would be paid by the Korean Government, but equipped, uniformed and armed by the units which accepted them.

This message caused some concern at Army Headquarters in Ottawa. This unorthodox war had presented the planners with many problems to solve that were outside Canadian experience, but such a proposal, coming at a time when an Armistice seemed to be a distinct possibility, contained more difficulties than solutions. The Directorate of Administration wanted to know how command would be exercised, how discipline would be administered, and how a Korean national, whose pay was a fraction of Canadian rates, could be made responsible for his weapons and equipment. The Directorate of Organization raised the question “as to who will be responsible for the initial screening and immunization to ensure that no communicable diseases will be brought into Canadian units” and the Directorate of Quartermaster Operations and Plans wondered whether there was enough

of the smaller sizes of clothing to dress the new “Canadians”.²⁹

These and other questions were relayed to Brigadier Bogert and on 9 August he replied reassuringly:

“Full Cdn scales of issue will not be implemented. Korean soldier will have no more than soldier normally has with him in rifle Coy that is change of boots, socks and underwear. Koreans are very small and difficulty in sizing expected. Rifles only will be, issued. Rations same as own troops. From experience with Korean Service Corps [porters] expect Koreans will be anxious to wear badges of the units to which they are attached. No additional vehicles and equipment will be required. Men will have been in U.S.A. hands for up to 2 months before coming to us ... however we will re-examine and inoculate where necessary.”

Brigadier Bogert went on to say that he expected no disciplinary problems. The threat of being sent back to their own units “has been found to be a good cure.” The wire ended in a note of confidence: “Have formed the impression”, it read, “that Koreans have considerable aptitude as soldiers.” The matter languished here for some months while the several governments involved corresponded officially on the matter. Finally, in early November, the C.G.S. was asked for his view. In a memorandum addressed to the Chairman, Chiefs of Staff, Lieutenant-General Simonds gave his answer.

The suggestion is advantageous from a military point of view as it offers the prospect of eventually reducing the Canadian manpower in Korea and at the same time contributing towards the ability of South Koreans ultimately to assume responsibility for their own defence.

Simonds then described a process of “integration” aimed at “absorbing” Koreans into Canadian units initially and then gradually, as leaders among them appeared, forming them into sub-units until platoons, companies and ultimately battalions could be created. “All reports”, he said, “from those who have had first-hand experience, agree that the Korean can be made into a staunch, skilful and courageous soldier, providing he is well led.”³⁰ The Department of External Affairs supported this point of view³¹ and on 14 November 1952 the Cabinet Defence Committee concurred.

On 15 March, 1953, after careful plans had been drawn up, H.Q. 25th Brigade published an instruction covering the scheme as it applied to the Canadians. Approximately 100 South Korean soldiers were to be integrated in each of the infantry battalions, on the scale of three to a section. Unlike the Korean Service Corps personnel who were employed as porters and messmen, these “Katcoms” (Korean Augmentation to Commonwealth) were to be used to increase the fighting strength of the units.³² The scheme appears to have started “according to plan”; the P.P.C.L.I. and R.C.R. received their allotments on 28 March and 1 April respectively.³³ The unit diarist of the 1st R. 22e R. does not mention the arrival of the “Katcoms”, but it is certain that the battalion received its share of these South Korean soldiers at the end of March or the first part of April.³⁴ One company com-

mander recalls asking one of his men how he was getting along with his Korean comrade and being told, "pas trop pire, mais on n'a pas une grosse conversation."³⁵ As could be expected, differences in language, outlook, customs and pay created problems, and no simple judgment on the success of the scheme is possible. Lieutenant-Colonel Amy, then G.S.O. 1 at divisional headquarters, was of the opinion that the scheme succeeded in proportion to each commander's determination to make it work.³⁶ The commanding officers of the R.C.R. and the R. 22e R. both mentioned difficulties which they encountered.³⁷ There is no doubt, however, that the scheme provided valuable additional manpower.

Rotation—1953

The last week of March saw the beginning of the second major rotation of Canadian units in Korea. On 25 March the 3rd R.C.R. (Lieutenant-Colonel K. L. Campbell) replaced the 1st R.C.R. Two days later No. 56 Transport Company (Major E. G. Hession) relieved No. 23; next day the 59th Independent Field Squadron (Major L. E. C. Schmidlin) took over from the 23rd Field Squadron. No. 191 Workshop, which had not been replaced during the first rotation, was relieved by No. 23 Infantry Workshop (Major V. W. Bethel) on 16 April. Five days later, the 3rd R. 22e R. (Lieutenant-Colonel J. L. G. Poulin) took over from the 1st R. 22e R., and on the following day the 81st Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery (Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. Sterne) replaced the 1st R.C.H.A., whose C.O., Lieutenant-Colonel McNaughton, had changed his name the previous month to Leslie to satisfy the terms of a will. On 1 May No. 38 Field Ambulance (Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. Smillie) relieved No. 37. The rotation was completed on 24 May when "A" Squadron of Lord Strathcona's Horse (Major W. H. Ellis) took "B" Squadron's place. A new C.O. for the 3rd P.P.C.L.I., Lieutenant-Colonel M. F. MacLachlan, arrived on 16 May to replace Lieutenant-Colonel Wood who had taken sick and been evacuated to hospital in Japan on 27 March.

The units that went to Korea during the 1953 rotation were, with two exceptions, relatively new, having been formed during and after 1950. Of these the 3rd Battalions were the oldest, having been raised late in 1950. The new transport company and field squadron had been formed in August 1951,³⁸ while the field regiment and the field ambulance were formed in the spring of 1952.³⁹ In contrast, the workshop which replaced 191 was one of the original pre-Korea Active Force units, as was the armoured squadron.

With this second rotation, service in Korea had become fairly widespread among the units of the Canadian Army. Originally it was thought, to confine service in that country to units specially raised for the purpose, but the duration of the conflict led to most of the original units of the Active

Force becoming involved. Now, in 1953, with the original paratroopers on their way home, units which had not even been thought of in 1950 were about to take up their share of the static war.

The realization that another year in the Far East had been endured was sharpened when command of 25th Brigade changed again. On 21 April 1953 Brigadier J. V. Allard succeeded Brigadier Bogert.⁴⁰ Immediately prior to his posting to Korea, Brigadier Allard, a former officer of the R. 22e R., had occupied the appointment of Vice Quartermaster General at Army Headquarters.⁴¹

Operation "Cotswold", the Commonwealth Division's return to the line, began on 6 April. Two days later the Commonwealth formation took back its old lines from the 2nd U.S. Division. On completion of the operation, the 29th Brigade was astride the Sami-ch'on, in the positions held by the Canadians prior to the division's relief in January, the 25th Brigade was in the central sector, while the 28th Brigade was back again in the positions about Hill 355.⁴² Within the Canadian sector, the Royal 22e was on the left, the P.P.C.L.I. was on the right, and the R.C.R. was in reserve near the junction of the Sami-ch'on and the Imjin river. The 3rd P.P.C.L.I. (which went back into the line under its second-in-command, Major C. E. C. MacNeill.) relieved the Thailand battalion, and occupied an area much the same as had the 2nd P.P.C.L.I. early in October 1951.⁴³

The month of April was relatively quiet and the division settled back into its front-line routine without serious interruption from the enemy. One of the officers of the Royal 22e Régiment (Major W. H. Pope) has recorded his impressions of this routine:

On 8th April 53, "C" Company, 1 R. 22e R. took over from the Americans on Points 123 and 97. Just prior to the relief, the Chinese had struck the left-hand outpost which was about 200 yards in front of the forward platoon's perimeter and almost level with the valley floor. All five of the American soldiers in the outpost were killed, wounded or taken prisoner.

The American reaction was to double the strength of both outposts. This resulted in ten Americans being killed for, on the night I brought my company forward, the Chinese wiped out the right-hand outpost. The Americans treated outposts as part of their defended localities. As far as I was concerned, an outpost's sole duty was to warn of enemy approach; I did not wish to learn of the enemy's approach through the destruction of the outpost.

Major Pope kept the enemy off the outposts with his 60-mm mortars thereafter.

During our tour in the line, life was pleasant and uneventful. True, the Chinese were putting an average of 200 shells a day on "C" Company, but we had not a single casualty. It was obvious that the Chinese were preparing an attack. Their destruction of the two outposts was very much in the pattern of their October 1952 attack on Hill 355. Their shelling was not harassing; it was the pin-point registration of, I believe, no less than 100 guns, each registering for its troop.

Major Pope and one of his platoon commanders made a daylight re-

connaissance of the valley, looking for signs of Chinese night activity, but there were no lay-up caves, no cut wire. The two officers felt that the attack was not imminent – the Chinese would have reacted to this daylight “patrol” if their attack had been due within a week or less.

On 20 April, the R.C.R. and the 1st R. 22e R. exchanged positions, preparatory to the latter’s relief by the 3rd R. 22e R.⁴⁴ As had been the case with, the 3rd P.P.C.L.I., completion of the move into the front line placed the 3rd R.C.R. in substantially the same area as had been occupied by the 2nd R.C.R. during Operation “Commando”.* On the night of 23-24 April there were patrol contacts on all sectors of the divisional front. These were relatively minor affairs but they did result in the capture of a prisoner, the first taken by the division since October. Unfortunately the prisoner died before identification could be established.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, agreement respecting an exchange of sick and wounded prisoners had been signed at Panmunjom on 11 April. A description of the negotiations which preceded this agreement is recorded elsewhere (page 247 below). Operation “Little Switch” as the exchange was called, resulted in two Canadians returning from captivity. Private A. Baker had been captured during the attack on the 2nd R. 22e R. in November 1951, while Lance-Corporal P. Dugal, of the 1st R. 22e R., it will be remembered, had been taken in June 1952, during the special efforts at that time to capture Chinese. Dugal had kept a careful record of prisoners he met while in the hands of the Chinese. From this record he was able to provide valuable information on the status of several individuals whose fate had, until then, been unknown or in doubt. As a reward for his excellent work, Dugal was awarded the British Empire Medal.

*Two further reliefs took place in May and June. On 14 May, 3 R. 22e R. replaced 3 P.P.C.L.I. on the right of the brigade front; on 8 June the latter unit took over from 3 R.C.R. on the brigade’s left battalion area.

CHAPTER XVII

THE LAST CANADIAN ACTION

Defensive Difficulties

THE QUIET that prevailed during April did not last. The enemy patrol activity of the last days of the month heralded new fighting, for on the night of 2-3 May, "C" Company of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell's 3rd R.C.R. was attacked in strength. Though only one company was directly involved in this action, a description of the events leading up to it provide a suitable opportunity to describe in some detail the defensive layouts of the Commonwealth Division on the eve of the Armistice.

The ground the battalion occupied was typical of that along the greater part of the "Jamestown" line. The area fronted on the Sami-ch'on; the highest ground, Hill 187, lay in the north-east corner. Three irregular fingers of high ground radiated out from this feature to the north-west, to the west and to the south-west. Hill 159 rose from the last-named of these ridges, and three additional fingers ran west from it, roughly paralleling each other and the ridge which ran west from Hill 187. At least the northern two of these four ridges running west were open to observation from Hill 166, on the enemy's side of the valley.

All these ridges and hills were steep-sided, and their slopes were seamed by gullies and folds of varying depths. These depressions made it difficult – and in most cases impossible – to cover the slopes running down from any given locality by direct small arms fire. Medium machine-guns from neighbouring localities might have covered these difficult areas, but none were sited for this role. At the same time, the steepness of the hillsides sharply limited the fields of fire of small arms unless the firer exposed himself to a dangerous extent above the lip of his fire bay. To further complicate the problem, the hillsides were covered with scrub and long grass which, even in winter, gave good cover from view to a crouching man. It was a familiar problem in defence; most of the "Jamestown" line suited current tactical doctrine but the R.C.R. position did not, although it had to be held in order to maintain the security of the rest. It would seem that for this position at any rate, some variant of the American practice of holding below the hill-tops would have been an improvement.

The ground between the ridges and hills varied from narrow, bush-choked ravines to wide, flat-bottomed valleys floored with paddy. Within the battalion area three roughly parallel valleys separated the four fingers of high ground which have already been mentioned. At night these valleys offered an approach to the heart of the battalion area, while the ravines and

gullies that ran into the slopes from these valleys offered covered approaches up the sides of the fingers. In the valleys the earth was rich, deep and dark-coloured. Towards the summit of the ridges, it was mixed with a shale rock, which was easy to split but hard to dig. At this level, the soil was yellowish-red in colour, with a clay content which made it soggy when wet, but it had the advantage of holding up reasonably well at the edges of any digging not revetted. Even at the tops of the hills the soil was surprisingly deep. Trenches could be dug there to a depth of at least six feet without striking solid rock.

The battalion area, in common with the others in the Commonwealth sector, was laid out in defended localities, according to the doctrine stated in Chapter VI of the British pamphlet, *The Infantry Division in Battle, 1950*. This doctrine had so commended itself to the Americans that Major-General West mentions a special printing of the chapter for wide distribution in 1st U.S. Corps.¹ The R.C.R. companies were laid out in the following pattern: "A" was on the high ground about Hill 187; "D" was on the ridge to the south-west; "C", with which this portion of the narrative is particularly concerned, held the western half of the ridge running west from Hill 187, while the platoons of "B" Company were distributed between the two ridges to the south. Within "C" Company, No. 7 Platoon was on the western tip of the finger, about Hill 97. No. 8 was two to three hundred yards in rear and No. 9 Platoon, with company headquarters, held Hill 123 approximately 400 yards to the east. A jeep road ran along the northern side of the ridge which lay to the south of the Hill 97-123 ridge. This road turned north across the valley between the two ridges, and this stretch had a camouflaged canvas wall along its west side, to screen it from enemy observation.

One of the significant features of this layout was dispersion. The distances separating even the platoons of "C" Company were not small, but the two platoons of "B" on the ridge immediately to the south of "C" Company were at least 700 yards away, and the nearest troops of the P.P.C.L.I. lay 1,000 yards to the north-east. At the same time, the forward platoon of "A" Company was approximately 800 yards behind the rear platoon of "C" on Hill 123. These distances precluded effective mutual support by rifle or light machine-gun fire, although support by medium machine-guns was possible.

One feature of the layout in the Hill 187 area was the slight extent to which it was changed during some 17 months of occupation. The dispositions of October and November 1951, a transitional period during which the 25th Brigade seized the area from the Chinese and consolidated their positions on it, are not clearly recorded. By December, however, when the situation had become more static, a fixed pattern of defence had emerged. A trace issued by the Headquarters of the 1st Commonwealth Division on 14 December 1951 shows that the 2nd R.C.R. had three companies in the

Hill 187 area, disposed as follows: three platoons in an east-west line on the ridge tipped by Hill 97, one platoon on the ridge to the south, three platoons in a north-south line with the centre platoon on Hill 187, one platoon on Hill 159 and a platoon immediately to the south.² This pattern was used for the next ten months until, in October 1952, it was changed slightly. Three platoons were placed on the upper two of the three ridges running from Hill 159, and the platoons in the Hill 187 – Hill 159 area were arranged to form an almost continuous line. The same layout was used in April, when the 1st Commonwealth Division returned to “Jamestown”. Whatever changes the Americans made to accommodate their own organization and tactical doctrine were not retained by the Commonwealth Division, for the R. 22e R. dispositions in the Hill 187 area were the same as those shown for the area in October 1952. This layout was maintained until 10 July 1953, and quite likely until the Armistice, although no traces covering the last 17 days are available. Thus only two layouts were used by the Commonwealth Division in the area during 17 months. Furthermore, the layout of the platoons on the ridge held by “C” Company, 3rd R.C.R. (the point attacked on the night of 2-3 May 1953) had not changed at all during this time.

The trenches, fire bays, weapon pits, shelters, command posts and observation posts within the “C” Company area were fairly characteristic of those in use across the divisional front prior to October 1952. A communication trench, not revetted or provided with duckboards, ran west along the ridge from Hill 187 to Hill 97, connecting the three platoon localities of “C” Company. The trench varied in depth from five to seven feet, and the portion which ran forward down the slope of Hill 187 was covered by wire netting with strips of hessian. The purpose of this camouflage was not so much to hide the trench as to prevent enemy observation of movement in it; no attempt had been made to conceal the spoil which lay along the lip of the trench throughout its length.

The defences in all the platoon localities were similar. A trench, deeper than the communication trench, ran along two-thirds of the circumference of the occupied feature, at a level only slightly below that of the summit. With the exception of No. 7 Platoon, in each locality the exit from the trench lay on the eastern side of the feature (i.e. on the part that was sheltered from enemy observation). Fire bays had been dug at intervals forward of it and connected, to it. Few of these bays were provided with overhead cover, and that which did exist, projected above ground level sufficiently to make it possible for the enemy to locate the position, but not sufficiently to provide protection during a heavy bombardment. In some cases these bays were mere holes in the ground; in others the sides had been revetted and lined with sand bags; others again had sand bags along the forward lip. Some idea of the complexity of the trench system may be gained from the fact that the brigade historical officer mentions becoming

lost in it when he was accidentally separated from the party he was accompanying.³

During an enemy attack, those Chinese who succeeded in penetrating the localities made straight for this sort of trench, seeking shelter from artillery fire. After the attack on "C" Company Brigadier Allard directed that the tops of the trenches were to be wired in with single strands of barbed wire, criss-crossed just below the lip of the trench. The purpose of this step, of course, was to keep the enemy out in the open, where proximity fused concentrations could attack him more effectively.

The shelter bunkers were grouped on the less-exposed side of each of the three features. They lay at and below the exits from the trenches which ringed the summit. A description of these structures runs as follows:

When I entered the company area, I was surprised by the number of bunkers but as each bunker held only three or four men, the reason for the number is quite obvious. The construction of some of these bunkers was distinctly flimsy. The frame beams were but four inch logs and the roof beams were steel pickets welded or lashed together with signal wire. These were covered with mesh and three or four layers of sand bags. There were no firing positions at the bunkers but some of the entrances could have been used although there would have been no overhead cover. I am not certain of the dimensions of the bunkers but I would guess they were 6' x 6'. The frames of the bunkers were made with steel pickets welded or wired together and the "springs" were made from signal wire woven to form a mesh which would support the body. Overhead cover of bunkers varied from about two feet where the bunker projected from the hill to four feet where it burrowed into the hill.⁴

The command posts on the rearward slopes and the observation posts on the forward slopes were better built.

On my first visit to Hill 123 on 17 May, only the OPs and CPs were of fairly solid construction. There was about five feet of overhead cover for the Company CP, six feet for the FOO's OP (which the Company Commander used) and seven feet for the FOO's bunker. The only tunnel in the position was that from the communication trench to the OP and that would be about six feet long.⁵

There is little information available about the use of mines and wire in the area now being described. However, a careful study of the whole divisional front was made between December 1952 and February 1953, as a result of reports to the War Office which raised doubts as to the adequacy of the 1st Commonwealth Division's field defences. While it is impossible to determine the exact applicability to the 3rd R.C.R. area of all the statements made in the report on this study, they probably reflected the situation which existed in the area during April 1953. Such information as is available about the defences in the area supports this belief.

The greater part of the wire about platoon localities was protective wire of the double apron type. The wire was laid in roughly concentric belts, the inner belt being 15 to 20 yards - grenade throwing range - from the fire bays while the succeeding belts were each a further 10 to 20 yards out. There were usually three or four belts in front of a platoon locality and

two or three behind it. Most of this wire had been in position for a long time, it had sagged badly and was covered by vegetation. In addition, the folds and gullies in the hillsides made it difficult for even the inner belt to be covered throughout its length by small-arms fire from the posts which it protected. Some attempts had been made at laying both tactical and defensive wire, but by far the greater part of the wire in use was of the protective type described above. Dannert concertina wire became available in 1952, being issued at the rate of 2,000 coils (total divisional issue) per month. This limited quantity, spread over a very wide front whose right and left sectors had higher priority, could not have provided sufficient wire for any notable improvement in the central sector.

At least part of the apparently inexcusable neglect summarized above, can be traced to the fact that the 2nd U.S. Division had not used all of these positions during their long period in the line, preferring, as has been noted before, to occupy the forward slopes.

Each locality also had a minefield about the forward portion of its perimeter, the outline of the field being marked by a single strand of barbed wire. A proportion of the mines in these fields had deteriorated to the point of unserviceability, and many of these fields had only one mine every seven yards. As a result, the obstacle gave a false sense of security to the troops behind it. The records of the boundaries of these minefields were not completely accurate, and much work had to be done in locating the exact limits of known fields. No information is available about the casualties inflicted on the Chinese by mines, but it is recorded that 11.5 per cent of Commonwealth Division's own fatal casualties to November were caused by its own mines. A further adverse effect of these minefields was the degree to which they restricted mobility. It was not possible to vary the routes of patrols into and out of the localities because of the existence of the minefields. As a result, patrols came and went through the same gap for months on end, and the Chinese took advantage of this habit by placing ambush parties near the gaps, or by bringing fire down on them when the patrols were returning.

Lieutenant-Colonel Poulin reported that his unit used napalm in an effort to render the minefield defences more effective.⁶ These devices consisted of four-gallon containers filled with napalm and fitted with a detonator which was connected electrically with the platoon command post. They were buried one foot underground at intervals of 20 yards across the front of the unit's forward position. When ignited, the bombs were capable of spreading fire over an area of 50 yards. Their effectiveness, however, was never put to the actual test of battle.

The pattern of the defensive fire which protected the localities was normal. The immediate approaches were covered by direct small-arms fire from the locality itself and from the flanks. To thicken this fire each section had been allocated an extra Bren gun, and each platoon had acquired at

least one .30 calibre Browning. Dead ground close to the posts was registered as targets for the 60-mm and 81-mm mortars. Artillery defensive fire tasks hemmed in each locality, and the territory beyond was liberally sprinkled with gun, heavy mortar, tank and medium machine-gun targets.

This fire plan, however, suffered from defects. In the first place, the lack of overhead cover on the fire bays made it necessary for the troops which normally manned them to take shelter in the bunkers at the rear of the locality during the enemy's preliminary bombardment. Since these bunkers were between 50 and 75 yards from the fire bays, it was not always possible for the soldiers to return to their posts in time to prevent the enemy, who always followed his supporting fire closely, from getting into the trenches and turning the engagement into a hand-to-hand fight. The supporting fire from the flanking companies, usually limited to M.M.G. fire by the distances, was also affected by this circumstance, though perhaps to a lesser extent, since the M.M.Gs. usually had some form of overhead cover. As we have seen, the effectiveness of fire from the flanks in "C" Company at any rate, was limited by the folds and gullies in the hill-sides which were being covered.

Turning now to mutual support (in the form of direct small-arms fire) between platoons, which is a vital requirement in this type of defence, the extent to which it was possible depended entirely on the ground held. The dispositions of "C" Company's three platoons (in a line running east from the tip of the finger) would have limited any effective mutual support, at least in the case of an attack coming in along the ridge from the west. This circumstance, added to the limitations in fields of fire imposed by the steepness and irregularity of the slopes, measurably reduced the overall effectiveness of small-arms fire, both from flanking localities and from the locality itself, in repelling an attack. In the opinion of Brigadier Allard, this led to undue reliance on artillery fire, with the result that the guns and heavy mortars were not left as free as they should have been. Counter-battery and counter-mortar programmes had only had a limited success in preventing the enemy from firing the concentrations which contributed so much to the success of his attacks.

Thus it was that the indirect fire of the infantry battalion's mortars and the artillery's guns and heavy mortars offered the greatest threat to the enemy, and over the long months of occupation, a formidable number of targets had been registered across the divisional front. Every bit of dead ground, every possible forming-up place and line of approach, as well as all the best routes across the valley in front of the area were marked as targets on which telling concentrations could be quickly directed. Where necessary, the artillery concentrations could be fired with proximity fuse, a device which had shown itself to be very useful in stopping enemy infantry. The effectiveness of the "close-in" defensive fire tasks was absolutely dependent on their being called for at the proper moment. The Chinese, how-

ever, sometimes succeeded in getting inside the line of these tasks before they were called for, where their “burp guns” gave them an immediate advantage over the bolt action Lee-Enfields of the defenders.

In an interview later, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell said:

When 3 R.C.R. moved into its sector, the position was badly run down. The wiring was insufficient. The trenches were not deep enough. There were gaps in the communication trenches. The fire bays were of a poor design and had no adequate overhead cover. The bunkers were too high, too lightly timbered and had too little overhead cover. They were also too far removed from the fighting positions. [I] drafted a programme to improve the wire, the communication trenches, the fire bays and the bunkers. [I] also employed one platoon of the reserve company to work on the defences of the right forward company (C Company). But the enemy fire was such that each night the men just managed to repair the damage done during the day.⁷

All this, it could be added, was very probably known to the enemy. His patrols had been active in the valleys running into the area, and he had good observation from Hill 166 of the forward positions at least. If it did nothing else, this observation must have shown him the outline of the layout as revealed by the spoil. The fact that the dispositions had not changed substantially in many months gave him the further advantage of a long period of time in which to study the area. Events were to demonstrate that he had put this time to good use.

The Attack on “C” Company 3rd R.C.R. Night 2-3 May 1953

When it took over its new area on 20 April, the 3rd R.C.R. found no-man’s-land dominated by the enemy.⁸ The unit was new to action, and the disadvantages arising from its lack of experience were aggravated by the Korean countryside and Chinese tactics. It was evident that any attempt to wrest control of no-man’s-land from the enemy would require careful preparation. Accordingly, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell at first sent out large numbers of reconnaissance patrols, to accustom his officers and men to the ground and the enemy in front of them. After a week of this, he began sending stronger patrols – fighting patrols – out into the valley. He was just into this phase of his programme when the enemy struck.

The “reasons” behind the enemy’s selection of objectives were debated endlessly by the Commonwealth troops, but since the war ended without a clear-cut victory, the puzzle may never be solved. There are no Chinese generals to question, no enemy records to search, no communist intelligence reports to ponder over. The capture of vital ground such as Hill 355 or the “Hook” makes tactical sense. But the raid on the 3rd R.C.R. positions makes no sense at all. They could not have been held, the prisoners were not needed, and such an isolated operation could have had no effect on the peace talks at Panmunjom. The theory was advanced that the Chi-

nese commanders were merely exercising their troops in modern war and since the U.N. did this sort of thing, such an explanation seemed to help in unravelling enemy motives. Did the Communists need to buffet their soldiery against the gun-protected U.N. lines in order to keep their fighting spirit alive? Did the U.N. need to do it? Such problems seldom occur in "ordinary" wars; each side is by definition committed to the destruction of as many of the enemy as can be reached. But this was not an ordinary war. Each side strove to keep its weapon sharp by use while negotiating political settlements. By this time, Korea had become a jousting place, where armies battled, not to win, but to maintain efficiency. This being so, a cool, professional, unimpassioned approach was mandatory; dead soldiers merely raised the odds in a game where the enemy greatly outnumbered the defenders.

Whenever this philosophy of fighting was forgotten in Korea the results were unpleasant, and lives were expended in ill-conceived activities. Korea proved once again, for Commonwealth commanders faced with a numerically superior enemy, that victories purchased at a high cost in lives are empty victories. Any battle that caused equal casualties on both sides left the Chinese with the advantage.

At battalion level, the days preceding the attack had produced no clear evidence that the night of 2-3 May was going to be any different from previous nights. There had been, it is true, an increasing number of reports of enemy patrols on the front and north flank of "C" Company. Many of these, however, could be discounted as products of the imagination of green troops, and the remainder did not provide positive evidence of an impending enemy attack. The registration which "C" Company of the R. 22e R. had undergone had not apparently been appreciated by their successors as such. Similarly, there was none of the progressive increase in volume of hostile fire which had preceded former attacks, although "C" Company received most of what mortaring and shelling there was. On this occasion, the Chinese registered their additional guns and mortars very subtly, giving the least possible indication of any increase in the volume of fire which could be brought down on "C" Company.

This feeling was not shared at Brigade Headquarters. Brigadier Allard had lost no time investigating the peculiarities of fighting in Korea and a report, submitted by the divisional counter-bombardment officer after a visit to the R.C.R., was disquieting. Major D. MacRae-Brown had collected a number of shell and mortar fragments on the "C" Company position which indicated that a very large number of different weapons had been used in the recent shelling. This signalled registration, rather than harassing fire, a sign that an attack was being planned.

Another indication that trouble could be expected was the interest the enemy had begun to show in the "C" Company wire. On several nights before 2 May, there had been reports of patrols working in the draw between

“C” Company and the 3rd P.P.C.L.I. So convinced was he that an attack was imminent, that on the evening of 2 May, Allard, who had been dining at Eighth Army Headquarters as General Taylor’s guest, excused himself immediately after dinner and hurried back to his command post. There, he and his artillery adviser (Lieutenant-Colonel Sterne, 81st Field Regiment) alerted the operations staff and awaited developments.⁹

At the R.C.R. positions, the plan for patrol activities for the night of 2-3 May followed the pattern which had become normal. Reconnaissance and standing patrols were to be sent out in front of the forward companies, and in the valleys between them. In addition, a fighting patrol of one officer (Lieutenant G. B. Maynell) and 15 men from “A” Company was to destroy the enemy who had been working on the wire covering the northern flank of “C” Company. The “C” Company “stand-by” patrol for the night consisted of a section of No. 8 Platoon under command of the platoon leader, Lieutenant D. W. Banton.*

The attack on “C” Company (Captain M. J. Mullin) was preceded by a patrol encounter involving both the fighting and the stand-by patrols. According to the plan, “A” Company’s fighting patrol was to have left the “C” Company area at 8:30 p.m. via the path through a gap in the minefield. From this point the group was to have gone to a point in the valley where it could ambush the enemy who had been penetrating into the valley between the R.C.R. and the P.P.C.L.I. It was not, however, strictly an ambush patrol, since it was free to move about in search of the enemy.

The patrol went to its appointed position 110 yards west of the minefield gap and between one and three hundred yards north of it. Here it lay down in ambush. Presently, however, an enemy group was spotted in rear and the patrol turned to face it, at the same time moving to the shelter of a paddy wall. The patrol leader then called for a flare, which was supplied by the 60-mm mortars of “C” Company. When the flare went up, a heavy fire fight developed between the two patrols at grenade-throwing range. Lieutenant Maynell received a head wound in the encounter, from which he is presumed to have died.

Corporal J. C. McNeil then assumed command of the patrol, which by this time was running short of ammunition and involved with not one but two and perhaps three enemy parties. The corporal therefore requested permission to return to the unit lines, and began to lead the patrol in along the path to the minefield gap. Just short of the gap, however, the survivors again came under heavy fire from a group of Chinese positioned near the path. A general mêlée ensued, during which the Canadians separated, some of them making their way through the minefield into No. 7 Platoon’s posi-

*Every rifle company was required to have a patrol standing by each night, briefed to operate in the company area or within three to four hundred yards of the perimeter, and prepared to deal with enemy groups spotted by reconnaissance or standing patrols but too large for these small bodies to cope with.

tion.

Meanwhile, the stand-by patrol had been sent to the aid of the "A" Company patrol. Lieutenant Banton and his section met some of the survivors as they came in through the minefield, and these men warned him of the Chinese near the gap. In spite of this warning, the stand-by patrol carried on down towards the valley, but it had not gone more than 125 yards from the "C" Company position when it too fell into a Chinese ambush. Lieutenant Banton was killed in the encounter and the survivors of his patrol were scattered. At this time, then, the remnants of two patrols were on the slopes and in the valley north of "C" Company, together with a formidable number of enemy. The Chinese, it soon developed, were busily preparing for their own part in the night's work.

The Chinese had planned their raid carefully. The force devoted to it was divided into five groups, the first of which was a counter-patrol force of three patrols, given the task of engaging our patrols and dominating the periphery of the area to be attacked. Next came section groups charged with gapping wire. Three bunker and trench destruction groups, of approximately 15 men each, were to pass through the gaps, followed by two "snatch" groups, each of platoon size. Finally, a force of company strength was held in reserve to reinforce the effort or to exploit success.

To the divisional intelligence staff, it appeared that the attack developed according to plan, at least in its first stage. As we have seen, the patrols dominated the area up to the wire on the northern flank of the "C" Company area, particularly in the vicinity of Nos. 7 and 8 Platoons.* At the same time, the wire-gapping parties performed their tasks, and the two remaining groups moved into position along carefully reconnoitred routes. When all was in readiness, the enemy directed a heavy concentration of artillery and mortar fire on to the objective, and the assault groups rushed in. They came in, right on the bursting shells of their own fire, which was then lifted to the rear of the position. As it lifted, the assaulting force began to throw concussion grenades in all directions, to create the impression that Chinese fire was still falling on the objective, and so keep the defenders' heads down until the attack was upon them. Once in the trenches, the destruction groups set about the task of demolishing the field works, while the "snatch" groups, following close behind, began to seize prisoners and pass them to the rear. All this, of course, happened very quickly and without serious check. Suddenly, however, a threat to the attackers developed in the form of proximity-fused concentration of artillery fire which began to rain down on the objective. The Canadians, having withdrawn into their

*This, at least, is the interpretation of the patrol clashes implicit in the account prepared by the divisional intelligence staff. Others, however, believed that our patrols had contacted a part of the main enemy assault groups, and had disrupted his plan to a certain extent by their fight with these groups. The information available on the enemy's part in the action is not sufficiently detailed to permit final choice between these two interpretations.

bunkers, were calling down their own fire directly on to the position.

This effective retaliation was the work of 2nd Lieutenant E. H. Hollyer, the commander of No. 7 Platoon, and Lieutenant L. G. Cote. Cote was a signals officer attached to the R.C.R. who had come forward to the platoon position to supervise the operation of a wireless relay station to maintain communication between the "A" Company patrol and the battalion command post. As soon as the final enemy bombardment began, just before midnight, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell had called for "Parasol", the counter-mortar fire plan, to be shot. He followed this with a request for the close-in defensive fire tasks. A number of enemy, however, appeared in the trenches at about the same time as this latter fire came down, probably because they were already inside the line of these concentrations when they fell. As soon as he saw the Chinese in his trenches, Hollyer called for proximity-fused concentrations on his own position.

These were supplied immediately, and the initiative began to pass from the attacking to the defending force. By then, the Chinese groups were being assailed by a hail of artillery, mortar, tank and medium machinegun fire, which fell on the Chinese objective. At Brigade Headquarters, Allard and Sterne directed the fire of all the medium and heavy guns in range on the approaches and likely forming up places, the routes across the valley floor, and on the hostile, guns and mortars supporting the attack. But in spite of heavy casualties, the Chinese persisted in their efforts, pushing up the communication trench towards No. 8 Platoon and even into the platoon position itself. Here they met an energetic resistance, led by Corporal W. D. Pero, who had assumed command of the platoon on the loss of Lieutenant Banton. As Hollyer later recalled:

At one point during the shelling, I asked for it to be lifted to investigate the situation. The enemy had sustained heavy casualties, the trenches being literally filled with them. The Chinese were rolling their dead and wounded over the lip of the hill where litter bearers were hauling them away. I returned to pass a situation report back, but was unable to establish communications. If Battalion H.Q. could have been informed at this point, a counter-attack would probably have been successful and a number of prisoners taken. A signaller was dispatched from the bunker with the task of trying to make contact¹⁰

While this was going on, Hollyer and Cote made a rapid check of their position. Finding only five or six men left, they asked permission to withdraw to No. 8 Platoon, and this permission was granted. Subsequently Lance-Corporal G. P. Julien, who had led his section most gallantly throughout the engagement, arrived with eight more men. At one a.m., Major J. S. Roxborough, the O.C. of "B" Squadron, Lord Strathcona's Horse, arrived at the battalion command post. Brigadier Allard had sent him forward with an additional, troop of tanks to add depth to the defence.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell had begun to think about re-occupying the position. Brigadier Allard had alerted the 3rd Royal 22e and had ordered one of their companies forward to the R.C.R. area. Camp-

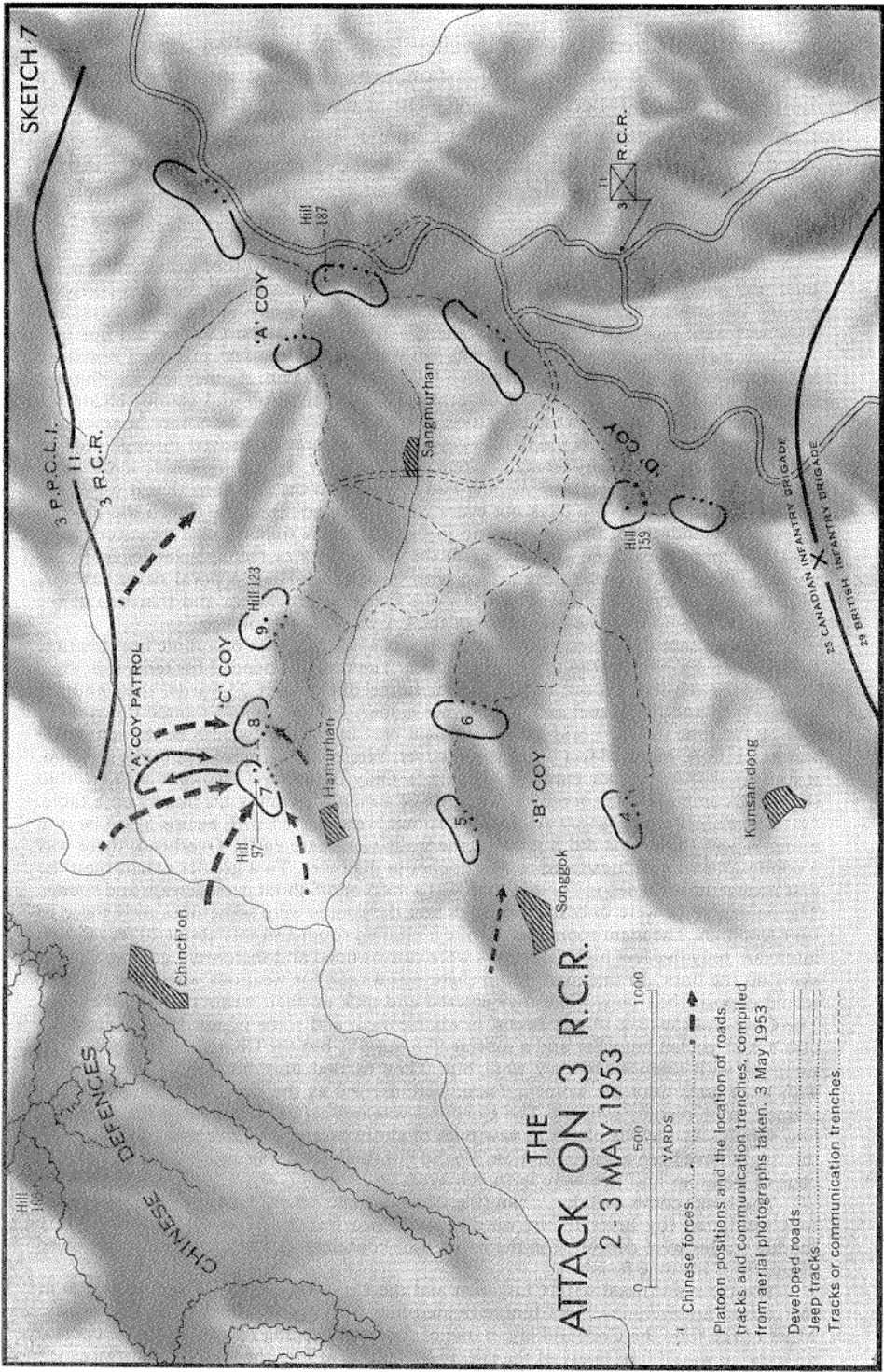
bell received permission to use it to relieve "D" Company which would move forward to the "C" Company locality. When Hollyer reached the "C" Company command post, however, he reported to Captain Mullin that he thought the position could be re-occupied by a patrol, since the Chinese were withdrawing. "A" Company was accordingly ordered to provide a fighting patrol of one officer and ten men, together with a stretcher-carrying party of ten men to evacuate the casualties from the position. This group came under heavy mortar fire when it entered the No. 7 Platoon area, and it did not complete its task until shortly after first light on 3 May.

During this action, Allard was receiving information from Division on enemy intentions. Just before dawn it was learned that an enemy force of unknown size had been pinned down by artillery fire in the valley between "C" Company and the 3rd P.P.C.L.I. As if to confirm this, the Chinese began to fill the area with smoke, as a preliminary to withdrawal. One of Roxborough's tanks moved into position and fired into the smoke-filled valley. By this time, "D" Company had relieved "C" Company (after being itself relieved by "D" Company of the 3rd R. 22e R.), but it occupied only Nos. 8 and 9 Platoons' positions, since Campbell had decided that No. 7's was too badly torn up to be tenable. A listening post was sent forward from "D" Company, and it remained in No. 7 Platoon's former position during the daylight hours of 3 May. That night, the company sent a platoon forward to reoccupy and restore the position.

Without more information as to the Chinese intentions, it is impossible to judge the balance of success or failure in this engagement. Soon after midnight, an enemy force believed to be forming up for an attack on Hill 159 was caught in the open and dispersed by artillery fire.¹¹ If this effort was associated with the attack on the R.C.R., the Chinese did not achieve complete success. Brigadier Allard, however, was convinced that the engagement represented a Canadian defeat, in that the Chinese achieved their objectives of inflicting casualties, taking prisoners, destroying defences and clearing their dead and wounded from the battlefield.¹²

The engagement cost the Canadians rather heavy casualties: 26 killed, 27 wounded and seven taken prisoner.*¹³ In addition four Katcom soldiers were killed, 14 wounded and four missing.¹⁴ Gallant leadership had been shown in the face of great difficulties. Corporal McNeil, was awarded the Military Medal for the skill and courage he showed in command of the "A" Company patrol after the loss of Lieutenant Maynell. Corporal Pero also

*These, at least, were the casualties sustained by the R.C.R. on 2 and 3 May 53. Most of them are directly attributable to the attack on "C" Company, and they are the best figures available.



**THE
ATTACK ON 3 R.C.R.
2-3 MAY 1953**

- 1 Chinese forces
- Platoon positions and the location of roads, tracks and communication trenches, compiled from aerial photographs taken, 3 May 1953
- Developed roads
- Jeep tracks
- Tracks or communication trenches

25 CANADIAN INFANTRY BRIGADE
28 BRITISH INFANTRY BRIGADE

won the M.M. for his work in the defence of No. 8 Platoon after Lieutenant Banton's death. Lance-Corporal Julien, who had led his section most gallantly throughout the fight and brought it out with survivors from other sections, was likewise awarded the M.M. and Lieutenant Cote and 2nd Lieutenant Hollyer each won the Military Cross for calmness under fire and determination and skill in directing the defence of No. 7 Platoon. Subsequently, Lieutenant G. E. M. Ruffee, a Forward Observation Officer from the 81st Field Regiment serving with the R.C.R., was awarded an M.C., the citation mentioning the determination and technical skill he had shown during this engagement.

A Glimpse of the Enemy

A view of the "other side of the hill" is afforded by an account of the experiences of one of the Canadian prisoners captured during the engagement.¹⁵ It provides one of the few glimpses of the conditions which existed in the elaborate warrens across the valley from the Canadian area. Corporal J. J. A. Pelletier, the prisoner in question, was captured in No. 8 Platoon's position after he had been wounded. He was escorted across the valley floor in company with a group of 30 Chinese, half of whom were carrying wounded on their backs. Once across the valley, the whole party climbed half-way up one of the enemy-held hills, where they entered the Chinese tunnels.

... They walked about 12 yards in, then climbed down a 10-foot ladder, then made their way along a twisted corridor. Both passages and rooms led off the main corridor. Finally the group of prisoners ... was halted in one of the off-shoot passageways. The prisoners were searched and books, wallets, etc., removed. The Chinese did not take watches or rings and returned all wallets with money intact. The prisoners remained in the passageway an hour and were then taken outside again. As they left the "honeycomb" by a different route, the Corporal lost his orientation and cannot locate the route followed. All he knows is they took him to another hill and another honeycomb.

Including the route to the first honeycomb, the Corporal moved through an estimated 700 yards of enemy trench. "Trench" is actually the wrong word; it varied in depth from two to six feet and shelling had so pounded the positions that it was more a gully. There were no fire bays but every 20 yards or so along the trench there was a Chinaman standing-to. Behind him and in the side of the trench was a three-foot hole. This hole might have been an entrance to the honeycomb or merely a shelter from our shelling. All the Chinamen were armed with burp guns. The Corporal never saw any of the enemy carrying a rifle. He only saw one machine-gun set up and that was at the enemy forming-up place near the base of the C Company positions.

The entrance to the second honeycomb was again like that of a mine but this time it was located almost at the top of the feature. The tunnel extended for ten yards, then there was a ten-foot ladder down, then a tunnel for about 25 yards, then another ladder, then another tunnel and yet another ladder. All the tunnels slanted downwards and by the time the Corporal got to the main part of the honeycomb he thought there was at least one hundred feet of overhead cover. While the Corporal was in the position, it was bombarded by our guns (or mortars?). Only the faintest tremor was felt within the

honeycomb and the sound was like that of a man drumming his fingers on a table.

The tunnels or passageways and the rooms were shored with beams again as in a mine. Where the beams did not cross, the walls were bare earth. Overhead, there was a continuous roof of logs three to four inches in diameter. To a greater extent than the first honeycomb, the second honeycomb was a mass of off-shoot passageways and rooms. The passageways were only five feet high and the rooms were sometimes only three to four feet high. The main room looked like a briefing room and was about 20 feet square but again only five feet high. The walls were canvas lined and there were goat and sheep skins on the floor. In this main room there was a rack for weapons where the Chinese would deposit their guns when they entered and pick up their weapons when they left. The Corporal saw five of our Brens, newly cleaned, and some of our rifles. There was also a 3.5" rocket launcher and a mortar like our 3". But the Chinese never took these weapons with them when they went out. They carried only burp guns. Also armed with burp guns were the women. These were dressed as the men, wore long hair and seemed to be regular soldiers. The Corporal was not certain concerning the ammunition supply. At various places he saw piles of stuff covered with rice mats and believed this might have been the ammunition. He did not think food was under the mats because bags of potatoes and rice were left uncovered.

The honeycomb was dry, clean (the Chinese removed their shoes at the entrance), well ventilated (by holes to the outside some two feet in diameter) and not smelly (bodily wastes were deposited in the paper tube containers for mortar bombs and these disposed of in some fashion).

The place swarmed with Chinamen and the Corporal thinks he saw up to 500 in the second honeycomb. The Chinese treated him with more curiosity than animosity. Most of the time the Corporal lay in one of the little sleeping rooms. When he opened his eyes he would find many of the enemy looking in at him through the doorway as if he were an animal in a zoo. Then he would close his eyes and that group would go away but when he opened his eyes again there would be as many Chinauren as before....

The Last Weeks

The fine spring weather in which the battle around "C" Company, 3rd R.C.R. had been fought lasted until early July, when, as usual, the monsoons arrived on schedule and soaked the troops and the countryside. This period was relatively uneventful. Brigadier Allard's main pre-occupation was to correct the mistakes he felt had been made during May in the planning of the defence. He called a meeting of the officers commanding all the supporting arms in the brigade down to medium machine-guns and completely reorganized and co-ordinated all the fire power available. The Defensive Fire tasks in front of the R.C.R. had been too far out in the valley; during the action of 3 May the Chinese had moved freely over the ground between the tasks and the position. This was corrected. Two or three days after the battle, the Brigadier and Lieutenant-Colonel Sterne made their way down the forward slopes of the posts into no-man's-land and had a good look at the approaches from the enemy point of view. As a result of this reconnaissance, he ordered two-man observation posts equipped with wireless, to take up positions each night away from the likely approaches

but on vantage points where these could be observed. The “lay-up” observation posts were charged with bringing down fire on any enemy patrols approaching the position.

The next step was to force the enemy off the forward slopes on the opposite side of the valley from which he enjoyed full observation of the brigade positions. Allard procured in Japan a very large and powerful telescope and put the brigade intelligence section to work in the brigade observation post, plotting every Chinese slit-trench and O.P. that could be seen. When this had been done, he took some tanks from their sandbagged positions on the tops of hills and moved them by night to the valley floor where they were sited singly and each given an oblique air-photo of the enemy defences with the weapon pits pin-pointed as targets. When the morning mists lifted, the tanks opened fire and carried out a highly successful destructive shoot. They then moved back to pre-selected concealed positions. The Chinese took about 45 minutes to react to this fire and their first attempted retaliation fell in the area from which the tanks had fired their tasks. After a few minutes of this fruitless shelling, they lifted to the positions on the hilltops which the tanks had occupied until the previous night. Thereafter all Chinese movement and any new positions which the telescope disclosed were taken on, day after day, with single rounds by all the guns, mortars and heavy machine-guns that could be spared from other tasks. This special effort, combined with vigorous and aggressive patrolling, kept the Chinese on the far side of the river. Brigadier Allard felt that he had discovered the key to successful defence in Korea.¹⁶

The two final months of the Korean conflict were relatively uneventful as far as the Canadian infantry was concerned, although the gunners had a busy time. Early in July Major-General West shifted the brigades in his division and on the 12th, the Canadians found themselves once again responsible for Hill 355. This time the 3rd P.P.C.L.I. occupied the feature, with the 3rd R.C.R. left and 3rd R. 22e R. in reserve. The moves were completed by the 12th but on that day West informed Allard that the 1st R.O.K. Division on the right expected an enemy attack that night on one of their positions. The 25th Brigade was ordered to occupy two R.O.K. company positions to the right of 355 in order to provide the R.O.K. division a larger reserve. The 3rd R. 22e R. sent “B” and “C” Companies, together with M.M.G. and mortar detachments, and an Observation Post from the 81st Field Regiment.

In order to give effective aid to the R.O.K. regiment on the brigade flank, Major J. E. Y. Theriault, the O.C. of “P” Battery, spent the next few nights at the American artillery battalion supporting it.

The attack on the South Koreans came on the night of 13 July when their outpost “Betty” was heavily assaulted. The R.O.K. troops drove off the attacks supported by the Commonwealth guns, but nearly every night thereafter, until the cease-fire, the battle for “Betty” surged back and forth,

with thousands of rounds of 25-pounder ammunition from Canadian guns bringing support to the embattled South Korean troops. When the cease-fire came, they still held their battered outpost.

Some idea of the scale of activity in the 81st Field Regiment during its three months in action can be gained from the 120,000 rounds it fired. That it was a worthy successor to its predecessors is further attested to in a quarterly report issued by the Eighth Army after the armistice stating that the regimental command net (which, with all other wireless activity in the Army, was monitored to detect errors in procedure and security) was in every way the best in the entire formation.¹⁷

Except for a few minor patrol contacts and the operational moves arising from reliefs in the line, there is little else to record of Canadian activity. On the divisional level, the outstanding events were the successful repulse, later in May, of an attack in company strength on the "Hook", followed by the defeat of a further and much stronger attack on the same feature towards the end of the month¹⁸ by the combined strength of the 1st King's and 1st Duke of Wellington's Regiment.

During June and July the Chinese concentrated on South Korean and American formations. Around the middle of July, the Kumsong salient was reduced by very powerful Chinese attacks, the heaviest since April 1951.¹⁹ Then, immediately prior to the signing of the armistice, attacks in divisional strength were directed against the 1st U.S. Marine Division on the left of the Commonwealth Division; these attacks gained ground to the immediate left of the "Hook", and created the possibility that this important height would be outflanked and lost.²⁰ None of these enemy moves against South Korean or American formations affected the Canadians profoundly.

To further improve his formation's patrolling, the Brigadier opened a brigade patrol school on 25 May, placing it under command of Major W. H. Pope, R. 22e R. In June this officer wrote a paper,²¹ in which he outlined what he considered to be the faults of the brigade's previous policy and recommended the changes which would remove these faults. In view of this officer's appointment, it may safely be considered that his opinions were not incompatible with those held by Brigadier Allard. Respect for Major Pope's views is enhanced by his long service at the front in Korea (he served a full tour with the 1st R. 22e R. and had requested an extension to serve with the 3rd), and by his having received the M.C.*

Pope expressed the opinion that the enemy had held the tactical initiative in no-man's-land for the past year or more, raiding outposts and forward positions and ambushing patrols at will. This he ascribed in part to an overly cautious attitude on the part of commanders (and a consequent lack

*It is to be noted, however, that Major Pope's generalizations are based, in the main, on his experience as a regimental officer. The application to other units of all his statements would probably not be valid without more evidence than is available.

of aggressive spirit in the troops) induced by the desire to avoid wasting lives when an armistice might at any time end hostilities. As for standing patrols, he considered them to have been too large and to have occupied fixed positions whose locations were known to the enemy.

His suggestions for improvements in raids and ambushes may be inferred from his analysis of the faults shown in previous patrolling of this sort:†

The ambush would consist of a subaltern or NCO and five to twenty men. Usually they were sent out without regard to the fact that recon patrols had been reporting no sign of the enemy. In other words, the schedule called for ambush patrols and so they were duly sent out to places where it would be most convenient for us for the enemy to pass. Rarely was provision ever made to reinforce the ambushes should they have accomplished their object, that is, of ambushing the enemy. And, of course, since ambushes were usually ordered from forward companies, the company commanders concerned were simply quite incapable of reinforcing their ambushes adequately without denuding the entire company position—an impossible risk. So on the rare occasions when our ambushes did fire first, the initiative quickly passed to the enemy who alone had the power of quick reinforcement. And, the morale factor must not be forgotten: our men knew the enemy patrols were specially trained for their jobs and would be quickly reinforced whereas they themselves were simply out in the valley for a routine task that came around to their platoon every third night and was interspersed with other routine assignments of standing; guard, cleaning weapons, cleaning up the area, laying wire and digging. In other words “the basic sense of mission” was lacking.

It must be recorded that no startling changes in general patrol experience became evident, at least in the daily reports on operations issued by H.Q. 1st Commonwealth Division in June and July. It may be that it was too late in the day for the aggressive spirit, on which Major Pope’s recommendations were based, to assert itself.††

All this time, the normal routine of life in the line continued, while the reported developments at Panmunjom caused expectations of an armistice to rise and fall. The battalions of the 25th Brigade continued in their attempts to dominate no-man’s-land and the 3rd R. 22e R. in particular showed considerable imagination in their efforts to entice the enemy into traps and ambushes. Lieutenant-Colonel Poulin has recalled this activity:

We had purchased dummies in Seoul and had dressed them in Canadian uniforms, placing them in a very forward post complete with weapons and good camouflage in the hope that the Chinese would spot them, think they were real and attempt to snatch them. Of course, we had these dummies covered by fire.²³

The Chinese did not rise to the bait, but day after day minor actions by patrols took their toll of Canadians and Chinese alike.

On 11 April, as we have seen, an agreement for the exchange of sick

†Major Pope specifically excepted Lieutenant Gardner’s “snatch” patrol from these strictures.

††Some time late in May or early in June, Brigadier Allard limited the forward movement of patrols to the river line in front of the Canadian positions.²²

and wounded prisoners had been reached. On 2 June the Commonwealth Division celebrated the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II with a ceremonial parade watched by Mr. Syngman Rhee. There was an extra rum ration in the Canadian brigade and the 81st Field Regiment R.C.A. fired three targets in red, white and blue smoke. The unit diarist recorded that "when it was fired the Chinamen came out of their trenches to have a look at it." On 7 June the most serious obstacle in the way of an armistice was removed when agreement was reached on a plan for repatriating prisoners of war. But on 18 June approximately 25,000 anti-Communist prisoners were released by their South Korean guards, and the Chinese began to launch very strong attacks against South Korean and U.S. Army formations. Then, at last, on 27 July, the armistice agreement was signed.

Armistice

The armistice found the brigade on the right of the divisional front, in a sector for which it had assumed responsibility on 10 July during Operation "Emperor". This operation involved a move to the right by the 29th and 25th Brigades and a move from right to left across the divisional front by the 28th Brigade. On completion of "Emperor", the 28th was astride the Samich'on; the 29th was on the right.²⁴ In the Canadian sector, the Patricias were on the right, in the Hill 355 area; the R.C.R. companies were lined up from east to west on the hill feature to the south-west. The Royal 22e was in reserve along the division's right boundary.²⁵

Between 12 and 20 July as we have seen, "B" and "C" Companies of the 3rd R. 22e R., with the mortar and M.M.G. platoons, occupied positions on the right of the 3rd P.P.C.L.I., relieving Nos. 1 and 2 Companies of the 11th R.O.K. Regiment so that the South Korean formation could concentrate its forces against the attacks then being made on it. The two Canadian companies did not become involved in any fighting, but they did suffer from the heavy monsoon rains.²⁶ As in the previous years, these rains destroyed a large part of the bunkers and shelters across the brigade's front.²⁷

On 27 July, at 10:00 p.m., the guns and mortars which had so long pulverized the Korean soil along the "Jamestown" line fell silent. The armistice had become effective. The event was celebrated casually and briefly; there was a great deal to be done in the 72 hours given each side to withdraw from the demilitarized zone.²⁸

At first light on 28 July the Canadians manning the hill positions of the "Jamestown" line faced an astonishing scene. The Chinese hills were "crawling with men". As Captain C. A. Kemsley of the 3rd P.P.C.L.I. recalled it:

In the valley immediately below us the Chinese had set up a platform, with loud speakers and banners announcing "the peace". On the platform men and women were dancing and singing. But what impressed the troops was what looked like millions of

Chinese opposing them. No one will ever forget the psychological impact of seeing for the first time "the human sea".

The Canadians in the line were treated to another unusual sight on their own side of the hills. Arriving from miles away in jeeps and trucks, hundreds of military "tourists" from the rear areas converged on the front lines, armed with cameras and an insatiable curiosity. Major-General West, inspecting the demolition of the defences, put an abrupt stop to this pilgrimage and it ceased to be a problem thereafter.²⁹

The demarcation line had been located along the actual line of contact. In the 1st Commonwealth Division's sector, it followed the valley of the Sami-ch'on's tributary, swinging almost due south at its south-western end to bisect the broad stretch of the Sami-ch'on valley. On its north-eastern end, the line passed to the east of Hill 227 and then continued north and slightly east to the point where it cut the divisional boundary. Two thousand yards to the south-east, the southern boundary of the demilitarized zone paralleled this demarcation line.³⁰ The 25th Brigade, in common with the other U.N. formations in Korea, had to complete a withdrawal to positions south of the demilitarized zone by 10:00 p.m. on 30 July. The brigade planned to make this withdrawal in two phases. The first, for a few of the units at least, was to interim positions immediately south of the demilitarized zone; the second, to "permanent" post-armistice positions. On leaving the scene of its protracted defence, the formation planned to take with it all stores and equipment, all ammunition, and all the material that could be salvaged from existing field defences.³¹

This plan was executed as ordered, some of the units moving directly to their permanent positions. The infantry of the 25th Brigade, however, occupied temporary positions along a "no-pass line" immediately south of the boundary of the demilitarized zone. Here their duties were to erect signs and man road-blocks to prevent movement into the demilitarized zone. Shortly afterward, the move to permanent areas was completed and work began on their development.³²

There is a strong feeling of anti-climax about the last days of the Korean war, as if two boxers who had received a savage beating from each other's fists were separated and a draw announced. Canadian troops continued to participate in a U.N. "presence" in Korea in gradually diminishing strength until the last major unit embarked for home in April 1955. It remains only to sum up those last twenty-one months, and attempt to assess the impact of the Korean experience on the Canadian Army.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ARMISTICE – AND AFTERWARDS

The Armistice Negotiations December 1951–July 1953

IN CONSIDERING the armistice negotiations, it is important to realize that the agreement signed at Panmunjom represented a limited achievement. It ended active operations, but left the opposing armies facing each other across the demilitarized zone, both fully capable of resuming the fighting at very short notice. Final settlement of the conflict was still to be achieved, and there were cogent reasons for supposing that such a settlement could not be reached – or, if reached, could not be made to endure – independently of a general settlement of the other matters at issue between the opposing power blocs. To the Canadian soldier in Korea, on the other hand, the military armistice was a very significant achievement indeed. For him it meant release from hard and dangerous tasks.

It will be recalled that by the end of 1951 the conference had passed to Item 3 – the concrete arrangements for a cease-fire and supervision of the armistice – but discussion of this item was soon deadlocked.¹ The U.N. negotiators then proposed that Item 4 – arrangements relating to prisoners of war – be discussed concurrently with Item 3 in order to save time. This was finally agreed to, and a sub-committee began working on Item 4. Both it and the sub-committee studying Item 3, however, made very little progress, and once again the U.N. Command suggested expediting the negotiations, this time by passing to Item 5 – recommendations to the governments concerned. This also was agreed to, and discussions began on 6 February 1952. Surprisingly, agreement was reached ten days later, in the following terms:

In order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three (3) months after the armistice agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc.*²

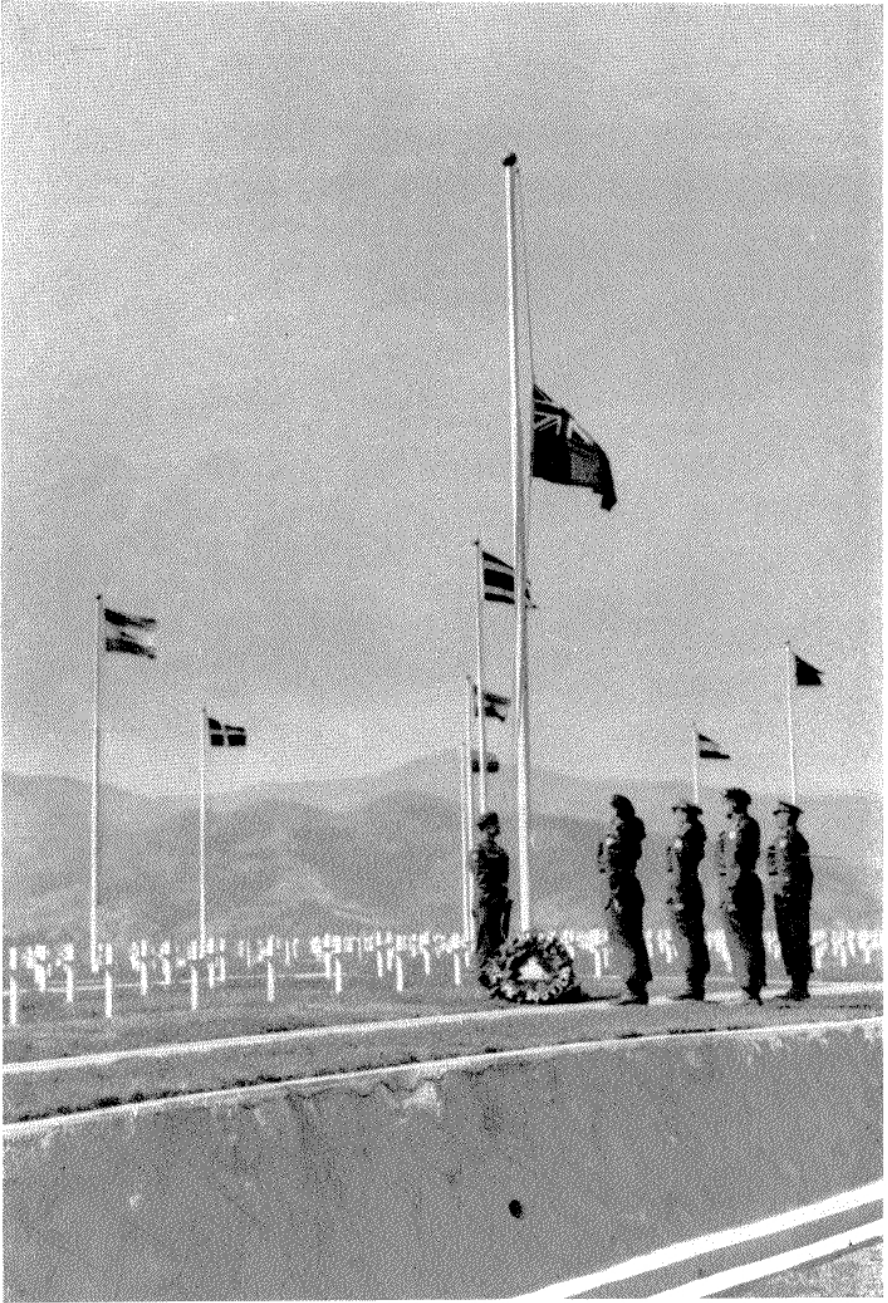
*The U.N. side made it plain that they considered the term “foreign forces” to embrace Chinese forces, and that the “etc.” did not include matters outside Korea. Since the Chinese were deeply committed to discussion of at least two matters outside Korea (Chinese representation in the United Nations and U.S. action on Formosa), it is doubtful that they subscribed entirely to this interpretation. However both sides probably felt that, having recommended a conference, the membership and agenda could be left to higher authority.³

At the fifth plenary session of the Armistice Conference, held on 7 May 1952 it was announced that agreement had been reached on all issues except the disposition of prisoners of war (Item 4).⁴ The difficulty with this Item arose from the fact that a substantial number of prisoners held by the United Nations did not wish to be repatriated. The Chinese-North Korean side contended that all prisoners should be sent back to their country of origin. The United Nations Command, on the other hand, argued that prisoners should be allowed to choose or reject repatriation. From 11 December 1951, when concurrent discussion on Items 3 and 4 began, the fate of recalcitrant prisoners was the subject of violent and often abusive debate. Then, on 8 October 1952, the negotiations went into an indefinite recess, called by the U.N. Command.⁵

The seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations opened on 14 December 1952, and this session saw the resumption of discussions on means of ending the fighting in Korea. The Assembly had suspended deliberations on a cease-fire on 1 February 1951 (after naming China an aggressor in Korea) pending the outcome of efforts by the Good Offices Committee to get some sort of negotiations started. Then, in July 1951, the Military Conference had begun, and it was felt that discussion of a Korean settlement by the Assembly might prejudice the success of these negotiations. As a result, nearly two years passed before the Assembly resumed active consideration of the problem of bringing the conflict to an end.

When the matter was revived, interest centred on repatriating the prisoners, as the one unresolved issue. A total of four resolutions was offered on the question. The first was sponsored by 21 nations, including Canada. It called upon China and North Korea to agree to an armistice based on the principle of voluntary repatriation. The second and third resolutions dealt with special aspects of the question while the fourth, sponsored by the U.S.S.R., rejected the first resolution and called for the establishment of a commission to settle the Korean question peacefully. The proposed commission was to consist of representatives of 11 states, four of them from within the U.S.S.R.'s sphere of influence, and decision was to be reached by a two-thirds majority.

In an effort to reconcile the two conflicting points of view, Mr. Krishna Menon of India introduced a new resolution. This was supported by Canada and the United Kingdom from the first. Later the United States also came to support the proposal, after certain amendments had been made to the original draft. On 3 December 1952 the resolution was accepted by the General Assembly. As approved, it provided for a repatriation commission to which all prisoners would be surrendered. The commission would repatriate those who wished to return to their parent state. The disposition of the remaining prisoners would be considered by the conference recommended in the agreement on Item 5. If this conference failed to reach



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L'ENVOI

The United Nations Cemetery at Pusan. Officers of the 25th Brigade bid farewell to their fallen comrades before returning to Canada 23 April 1953.

agreement on the question within 30 days, the prisoners would become the responsibility of the United Nations. The Chinese, however, rejected this arrangement and it began to appear that the impasse reached in the armistice negotiations would be duplicated in the United Nations.

On 22 February 1953 the United Nations Command stated that it was prepared to repatriate sick and wounded prisoners according to the Geneva Convention, and on 30 March, over Peking radio, the Chinese Premier, Chou-En-Lai, agreed to discuss this. His statement went on at some length in a tone of conciliation, to suggest that the battlefield negotiations be reopened. While still insisting that all prisoners should be repatriated, Chou-En-Lai offered a compromise:

... the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea propose that both parties to the negotiations should undertake to repatriate immediately after the cessation of hostilities all those POW's in their custody who insist upon repatriation and to hand over the remaining POW's to a neutral state so as to insure a just solution to the question of their repatriation.⁶

The meetings which followed were successful, and a plan for the repatriation of sick and wounded prisoners of war was approved on 11 April. Full armistice negotiations were resumed 15 days later. On 7 June agreement was reached on a plan for the disposal of the remaining prisoners and on 27 July, as we have seen, the armistice agreement was signed. On June 18th however, a dramatic threat to their success developed when President Rhee of South Korea arranged the release of approximately 25,000 Korean prisoners who objected to repatriation (above, page 242). This move, which was loudly denounced by the Communists, seems to have been made deliberately to prevent an armistice, but did not have that effect.

Article I of the Armistice Agreement dealt with the establishment of a military demarcation line and of a demilitarized zone.⁷ Article IV concerned recommendations to the governments on both sides. The text of both articles reflected agreements reached early in the negotiations and summarized above. The demarcation line followed the line of contact as it stood at the end of July and the demilitarized zone was to be formed by each side withdrawing its forces two kilometres from the demarcation line. Similarly, in the case of Article IV, the text faithfully reproduced that of the earlier agreement, including the terms "foreign forces" and "etc."

Article II set forth the concrete arrangements governing the cease-fire and armistice. Hostilities were to cease at 10:00 p.m. on 27 July 1953, 12 hours after the armistice was signed. Withdrawal from the demilitarized zone was to be completed within 72 hours after the armistice became effective. Rotation of troops and replacement of equipment in Korea was permitted on a "man-for-man" and "piece-for-piece" basis. There was not, in other words, to be any expansion of either army during the life of the armistice.

Supervision of the armistice was entrusted to a Military Armistice Commission composed of ten senior officers, five of whom were to be nominated by each side. Ten Joint Observer Teams were to be formed to assist the Military Armistice Commission in supervising the demilitarized zone and the Han river estuary. Movement of troops and equipment through authorized ports of entry were to be checked by a Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (composed of four officers nominated by Sweden, Switzerland, Poland and Czechoslovakia) assisted by 20 Neutral Nations Inspection Teams. On request of the Military Armistice Commission, the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission was also to arrange for inspection of areas outside the demilitarized zone where violations of the truce were reported to have occurred.

Article III dealt with the repatriation of prisoners of war and the return of displaced civilians. Prisoners who were willing to accept repatriation were to be handed over at Panmunjom to the side from which they had been taken, under the supervision of a Committee for Repatriation of Prisoners of War. In a similar manner, the movement of displaced civilians who wished to return to their homes was to be organized by a Committee for Assisting the Return of Displaced Civilians.

More complicated arrangements were made for the disposal of prisoners of war who were unwilling to accept repatriation. A Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission was to be formed. Troops and administrative staffs required by the Commission were to be provided by India. This body was to accept the custody of all prisoners not repatriated directly, to arrange for “explanations” to be made to them by the side to which they had originally belonged, to repatriate those who decided to return home and to dispose of the remainder according to the following arrangement:

At the expiration of ninety (90) days after the transfer of custody of the prisoners of war to the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, access of representatives to captured personnel as provided for in Paragraph 8 above, shall terminate, and the question of disposition of the prisoners of war who have not exercised their right to be repatriated shall be submitted to the Political Conference recommended to be convened in Paragraph 60, Draft Armistice Agreement, which shall endeavor to settle this question within thirty (30) days, during which period the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission shall continue to retain custody of those prisoners of war. The Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission shall declare the relief from the prisoner of war status to civilian status of any prisoners of war who have not exercised their right to be repatriated and for whom no other disposition has been agreed to by the Political Conference within one hundred and twenty (120) days after the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission has assumed their custody. Thereafter, according to the application of each individual, those who choose to go to neutral nations shall be assisted by the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and the Red Cross Society of India. This operation shall be completed within thirty (30) days, and upon its completion, the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission shall immediately cease its functions and declare its dissolution. After the dissolution of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, whenever and wherever any of those above-mentioned civilians who have been relieved from the prisoner of war status desire to return to their fatherlands, the authorities of the localities where they are shall be responsible for assisting them in returning

to their fatherlands.⁸

Five nations were represented in this body – Czechoslovakia, India, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland – with India's Lieutenant-General K. S. Thimayya in the Chair. By 6 September 1953 the Communists had returned some 12,750 prisoners (including 32 Canadians). The U.N. Command turned over to the Communists 75,000 Chinese and North Korean prisoners.

Prisoners who did not want to go home were to remain the responsibility of the Repatriation Commission for the next four months; the Commission entrusted their care to a special custodian force, the 190th Indian Infantry Brigade. Representatives of both sides were permitted to interview captives of their own nationality to explain to them their rights and to “inform them of any matters relating to their return home to their homelands, particularly of their full freedom to return home to lead a peaceful life”. This resulted in the exchange of some 620 more Chinese and North Koreans (out of 22,600) and for nine out of 360 U.N. and South Korean prisoners. By January 1954 the political conference which was supposed to decide on a final disposition of the remaining captives still had not been held; nor did it appear that such a meeting would take place before the Repatriation Commission disbanded. Towards the end of the month, therefore, General Thimayya returned the “non-repatriables” to their captors, who granted them civilian status and released them. The majority of the Chinese were admitted to Formosa; most of the North Koreans stayed in the Republic of Korea. In July 1955 three of 21 Americans who had chosen to live under Communism were returned to the United States at their own request.

The Repatriation Commission and the Indian custodian force duly left Korea in February 1954. But the release of war prisoners was still not quite complete. One Canadian remained a prisoner of the Communists until sixteen months after the cease-fire – Squadron Leader A. R. MacKenzie of the R.C.A.F. was released from prison in November 1954 and crossed the border into Hong Kong on 5 December.⁹ Fifteen American airmen were held until the summer of 1955.

Canadian Prisoners of War

Much has been made of the conditions under which the U.N. prisoners of war underwent their detention. There was from the first no attempt on the part of Chinese or North Koreans to adhere to the terms of the Geneva Convention, to which they were not a signatory. In the words of a British study, “The Chinese claimed that all United Nations prisoners taking part in this ‘unjust’ war were war criminals, and that if they were captured their captors had the right to kill them.”¹⁰ Whether this claim was rooted in conviction, or was simply a convenient explanation for their manner of treating prisoners, is difficult to assess, but there is no doubt that

their captives suffered severely, especially in the early days of the Chinese intervention. None of the Articles of the Geneva Convention relating to hygiene, medical care, food, accommodation, or supervision was observed, but in the primitive circumstances under which the Chinese lived; their observance would have meant actual preferment of prisoners over their own soldiers. In attempting to assess the severity of conditions in the Chinese camps, one must keep in mind the wide variation in diet, medical care and living conditions enjoyed by the opposing forces. A Canadian soldier, coming fresh from his rich diet to watery soup and rice once a day would indeed suffer – but how much of his suffering was inevitable and how much intended, is hard to decide. In any event, although dietary deficiencies and inadequate accommodation alone resulted in much sickness and death in the camps along the Yalu, the Canadian prisoners escaped most of this.

Hand in hand with these conditions went attempts to convert the prisoners to Communism. Promises were made of “lenient” treatment if prisoners would sign peace petitions, broadcast propaganda or help in converting fellow captives. Refusal to do so usually resulted in solitary confinement, extra work details, or (occasionally) beatings.

It would appear that the Canadians fared somewhat better in confinement than their American comrades, but it is difficult to state the reason with assurance. The fact that no Canadians were captured in the early days of the Chinese intervention, when few facilities, however primitive, had been established behind the 38th parallel for prisoners of war, seems relevant.* There were, as we have seen, 32 Canadian soldiers captured while serving in Korea, and all of them were repatriated by the autumn of 1953. On their release, they were closely interrogated to clear them of any suspicion of active collaboration with the enemy. Many of them had signed peace petitions, in the hope that this would disclose their presence in the camps, and all of them had been forced, at one time or another, to listen to indoctrination lectures and to read communist books and newspapers. No Canadian prisoners attempted to escape and most of the rank and file showed a low resistance to interrogation, but none of them was successfully converted to Communism. Two French Canadian soldiers who spent 21 months in the hands of the enemy were reported on as follows:

Internment has left a definite mark on their personalities. They show little emotional reaction to the stories of fear, hate and resentment they tell of camp life. This emotional “flatness” which belies their inherent Gallic temperament is attributed to a deep distrust of both the Chinese guards and their fellow prisoners.

Their successful resistance to indoctrination can be attributed to the moral support they provided one another, the language barrier which restricted their company and the religious belief which caused resentment to the “self criticism” periods.¹¹

Chinese interrogators gave special attention to those prisoners from

*The first three Canadians to be captured were members of the 2nd R. 22e R. taken on the night of 24-25 November 1951. By this time conditions in the camps had greatly improved.

the 1st R.C.R. who might have been involved in the Kojé island incident and those who were successfully identified as having participated were threatened with prison terms unless they gave details of American "atrocities" on the island. All professed complete ignorance of the situation on Kojé prior to their arrival and appear to have convinced their captors.

There remains this much to be said about the prisoner-of-war experience: the Chinese had little to gain by converting Canadians. In the struggle for men's minds, converted nationals of the leading western democracies like the United States or Britain could be useful for a variety of tasks, from propaganda to subversion, but it is significant that when Turkish prisoners formed a united front of opposition, they were soon left alone. Attempting to convert such prisoners evidently seemed to the Chinese a waste of time. No one should question the discomfort which the Canadian prisoners experienced; the inadequacy of their accommodation and diet is well documented. But there is no reason for Canadians to view with complacency the few "brainwashed" Americans and Englishmen who stumbled into the sunshine of Panmunjom in the summer of 1953. Had the Chinese felt it desirable to do the same to Canadian prisoners, can we honestly say that it would not have worked? The ex-prisoners will not give that assurance.

The misleading and contradictory reports that circulated after the completion of the repatriation, forced all the armies concerned to examine the problem in detail. In 1955 the U.S. Army recognised the seriousness of it by publishing a "Code of Conduct" for its soldiers. Canada, followed in 1960 with a pamphlet entitled "Conduct after Capture", designed to prevent prisoners being successfully "converted". Neither nation had ever before felt the need of such a manual. Both documents took the view that soldiers are not at liberty to stop fighting simply because they have been captured. The British put out a training film on the subject and a pamphlet designed to help the soldier withstand the sort of pressure which had been imposed by the Chinese and North Koreans in their prison camps. None of these attempts to solve the problem has, as yet, been put to the test, and there is still controversy over what really happened in the prison camps of North Korea.*

Reinforcement Shortcomings

As the Vice Chief of the General Staff had pointed out at an Army Council meeting the day of the Armistice, there was "no change in the need to maintain 25 Cdn Inf Bde at operational efficiency".¹² Nevertheless, the

*A book entitled *In Every War but One* by Eugene Kinkead appeared in 1959 and made the claim that "many captives fell victims to Communist indoctrination." This book had received the approval of the U.S. Department of Defence. In 1963, however, an American scientist, A. D. Biderman, wrote a reply entitled *March to Calumny* in which he carefully demolished much of Kinkead's thesis.

training programme immediately following the Armistice bore little resemblance to the one carried out in the early spring. The latter, as we have seen, had emphasized unit and formation exercises in mobile warfare; the former emphasized individual training, especially in weapons and fieldcraft, and exercises at company and platoon levels.¹³

One reason for the shift in emphasis was, of course, the recent general rotation, which had affected almost the entire composition of the force. Another was the state of training among reinforcements. Early in May 1953 the Director General of Military Training, Brigadier G. Walsh, asked Brigadier Allard for detailed reports on the condition of future drafts.¹⁴ Such a report, submitted to Allard in mid-June by the commander of the Canadian Detachment of the Divisional Battle School, clearly confirmed what had previously been reflected only in general remarks: the proficiency of reinforcements reaching the theatre was far below standard.¹⁵ Citing individual cases in detail, the report stated that the majority of reinforcements required basic instruction on all weapons – very few had received any on the Sten – and their small knowledge of fieldcraft was mainly theoretical. At the same time, most were quite receptive to training and anxious to join their units in the field.

Throughout the campaign complaints had been heard from Korea that the infantry reinforcements arriving from Canada had not been properly trained. This was an old refrain; it was reiterated throughout the Second World War. It was not even peculiar to Canadians. Marmont has recorded that during the battle of Champaubert in 1814 he came upon a young soldier leaning on his musket. On being ordered to fire, the boy replied, “I would fire as well as anyone, sir, if someone would only show me how to load.”

There are several possible explanations of these charges – and one might be that they were not true. No reinforcements arriving in a distant theatre after a long sea voyage would appear to be as fit as men who had been in action for months. There is even the possibility that newly arrived reinforcements might delay their entry into action by feigning ignorance. This is hardly likely to occur widely among volunteers, however, and the evidence of lack of training is too clear to be brushed aside as mere “battlefield snobbery”.

Some weeks after the Armistice, Brigadier Allard conducted a discussion group with the topic “Training of Reinforcements” in which all officers of the brigade in the rank of captain and above were invited to express their opinions. The brigade diarist records that the Brigadier managed to keep this “most controversial subject” on a “gentlemanly level” but that only a good buffet lunch was able to smooth the “savage tempers” that the topic aroused. Since everyone concerned recognized the situation and many reports from the theatre described the shortcomings of reinforcements, why had nothing been done about it? The answer seems to lie in the system.

Throughout the campaign, infantry reinforcements had been trained by the battalions of their regiments which were stationed in Canada. Recruits thus began training in the same regimental atmosphere as they would encounter in Korea. This was an admirable method from many points of view but it had one disadvantage: it was inflexible. If a draft demand arrived that could not be met with fully trained soldiers, there was no other source – so those with the *most* training had to be sent. Training experts of the period felt that a newly joined recruit needed a minimum of seven months' training to equip him to perform in a field unit in action: four months learning the basic skills of his arm, two months for such specialist training as driver or mortarman, and at least one month collective training.¹⁶ These timings however were seldom met, since they disregarded the amount of time consumed in "housekeeping" duties, leave, special parades and punishment for infractions of discipline.

Any sickness or absence without leave during the training period would of course further delay the process in individual cases. Since the intake of volunteers is not a predictable factor, while the demand for trained reinforcements is, there is no way of ensuring under this system that the soldier gets his 10 to 12 months' training before being called forward as a reinforcement. This was one result of applying the volunteer system in peacetime, and no solution under such a system is readily apparent. Had the flow of recruits been sufficient at all times to permit the full training programme to be carried out, complaints would have been few.

Training and Recreation

As the summer and autumn wore on, officer and unit training gave way to formation exercises, the most interesting of which took place in mid-November 1953. On the first day of the exercise, known as "Shake-up", the Canadian brigade took up its divisional screen positions: the fighting troops manned "Wyoming" Line, while non-essential troops and vehicles moved south of the Imjin. The second day, all but observation posts and other special details were withdrawn to reserve positions on "Kansas". The 28th and 29th Brigades succeeded, in the next two days, in repelling imaginary enemy forces. "Shake-up" continued with further supposed reverses and threats, in response to which one battalion was rushed from the left flank on tanks to secure the right flank. Throughout the exercise, Brigadier Allard noted, the first-line transport was not used properly. "The loading, movement in convoy and dispersion of vehicles was poor."¹⁷ Company and platoon commanders, misled by false crests, found it hard to decide wisely and firmly which ground was vital. As the best position usually meant a long climb, "all ranks of a fighting brigade must keep themselves in first class physical condition." Such remarks were not, however, intended to suggest that the exercise had not gone well. "The men are men

of spirit. The leaders are good and probably have a greater technical mastery of their profession than the Canadian Army has ever known except in times of major war.”¹⁸

Training, recreation and discipline were interrelated in a brigade directive to the effect that men must have passed all tests of elementary training before being granted leave to Japan; soldiers undergoing detention or lesser punishment would forfeit their normal turn on the leave roster; any offences committed while on leave would result in immediate return to unit; and those who contracted a venereal disease were liable to forfeit future leave privileges.¹⁹ Leave, of course, was no more the main form of recreation after the Armistice than before. The backbone of the recreational programme was still the film schedule supplemented by occasional concert parties, but “unit-organized activities remained important and the happiest units were those who supplemented’ the official facilities with their own sports, bingo games and contests.” The same source²⁰ notes that “a hardy minority could not be lured away from the canteens, and beer drinking must therefore be listed among the recreational activities.” As long as the men drank only beer, and did so in unit canteens, there was little trouble. The consumption of unauthorized beverages elsewhere, however, was often a factor in more serious offences such as irregular use of vehicles and being out of bounds.²¹

From March 1954 the Canadian brigade had a recreation centre north of the Imjin. “Maple Leaf Park”, as it was called, was officially opened by Prime Minister St. Laurent on the 8th, with the unveiling of a stone monument bearing a bronze plaque. The facilities included an auditorium, a gymnasium, a Red Cross centre, and NAAFI wet and dry canteens. That beer drinking was best confined to unit canteens was further demonstrated by a series of disorders, “probably due to an excess of regimental spirit”; and eventually Brigadier Allard closed the centre’s wet canteen.²²

Mr. St. Laurent had arrived in Korea on March 7 and spent two full days in the theatre, as part of a world tour. On the 18th he told the House of Commons:

... The morale of all our men is splendid. I was very happy to find that since the actual fighting has ceased they have been able to overcome by their own efforts many of the inconvenient features that interfered with their physical comfort in the surroundings in which they find themselves. But there again, one has the vivid impression that it is the human touch of the officers that contributes largely to this family spirit that you feel between the men and the officers, and this conviction of each and every one of them that he is a Canadian doing a Canadian job ... in the joint effort to prove aggression to be unprofitable.

Rotation and “Rundown”

October 1953 saw the 3rd P.P.C.L.I. preparing to go home, the reliev-

ing battalion being the 2nd Battalion, The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada. On the 14th, the Patricias demonstrated to the Black Watch advance party how quickly and smoothly their companies could occupy battle positions. The main body of the Highlanders arrived at Inch'on on the 29th, on the U.S.N.S. *Marine Lynx*, and the Patricias boarded the same ship that afternoon.²³

Several units of the brigade group received new titles in the next several weeks. The 81st Field Regiment R.C.A. was renamed the 4th Regiment, Royal Canadian Horse Artillery.²⁴ The 59th Independent Field Squadron R.C.E. became the 4th Field Squadron.²⁵ No. 56 Transport Company was renumbered 5 and No. 38 Field Ambulance, No. 4. No. 23 Infantry Workshop R.C.E.M.E. became No. 40.²⁶

In the latter part of January 1954 the Canadians assumed a special state of readiness in case China should decide to renew the war after an unfavourable turn in the political conference, or if India released non-repatriated war prisoners should the conference fail to take place.²⁷ As we have seen, the conference did not take place, the prisoners were released, and no incidents developed. The Canadian brigade then turned to a training programme "geared more to long-term development than active preparation for immediate hostilities."²⁸ An Eighth Army order that battle positions would be 25 per cent manned at all times, if enforced to the letter, would have seriously hampered any training programme; but the G.O.C. Commonwealth Division (since October 1953, Major-General H. Murray) persuaded the American authorities to grant some latitude in interpretation.²⁹

The third general rotation took place in the spring of 1954. The brigade group, still commanded by Brigadier Allard until mid-June – when Brigadier F. A. Clift took over – now consisted of "D" Squadron, The Royal Canadian Dragoons, the 3rd Regiment R.C.H.A., the 4th Battalion, The Canadian Guards*, the 2nd Battalion, The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada, and the 2nd Black Watch. The supporting units were:

- 3rd Field Squadron, R.C.E.
- No. 3 Transport Company, R.C.A.S.C.
- No. 3 Field Ambulance, R.C.A.M.C.
- No. 25 Field Dressing Station, R.C.A.M.C.
- No. 25 Field Dental Unit, R.C.D.C.
- No. 42 Infantry Workshop, R.C.E.M.E.

The continued build-up of the Korean armed forces to a point where these could, if necessary, wage a successful defensive war, enabled the U.N. Command to reduce its own strength. Accordingly, the Commonwealth Division was destined to become in effect a brigade group, though known as the "New Commonwealth Division". "So far as Canada is con-

*This unit had been formed from the 2nd Canadian Infantry Battalion in October 1953. Early in 1954 non-parachutists of the 3rd R.C.R. and 3rd P.P.C.L.I. (both subsequently disbanded) were transferred to what became respectively the 1st and 2nd Canadian Guards.

cerned,” the Minister of National Defence (Ralph Campney) announced on 13 September 1954, “it has been agreed that the Canadian forces will be reduced by approximately two-thirds and that the remaining Canadian element ... will consist of one infantry battalion, one field ambulance, and the necessary elements for their administrative support.” The remainder would be returned to Canada “as rapidly as suitable hand-over and shipping arrangements can be made.” Mr. Campney hoped that the majority would be “home or en route by the end of the year.”³⁰

Early in November the Commonwealth Division’s right sector and the Canadian screen position were turned over to the 28th R.O.K. Division.† Brigadier G. R. D. Musson, a British officer, assumed command of the reduced force as of 16 November 1954. Canadian troops still in the theatre, though not on the new order of battle, came under command of “Rear Division” pending return under arrangements made by Canadian Base Units Far East.³¹

The Canadian brigade’s operational role had ended on November 8, and Brigadier Clift’s headquarters “closed down” in Korea on 2 December. The senior Canadian appointment in the Far East then became the Commander of the Canadian Military Mission in Tokyo. At the beginning of February 1955 the 25th Brigade’s headquarters was reactivated at Camp Borden, Ontario, as H.Q. 4th Infantry Brigade.

The British Commonwealth Brigade left the Korean theatre about the same time as the Canadian brigade, while the 29th British Brigade’s headquarters became an integrated “divisional.” headquarters. The new force included a field regiment of the Royal Artillery, an independent field squadron of the Royal Engineers and a R.E.M.E. infantry workshop, three infantry battalions – 1st Dorset Regiment, Canada’s 2nd Queen’s Own, 1st Royal Australian Regiment – a New Zealand transport company, and No. 3 Canadian Field Ambulance. The continued use of the term “Division” had been discussed at a Commonwealth Vice Chiefs of Staff meeting in London on 23 September. Contrary to Canadian, Australian and New Zealand opinion, the British view was that, until all other Commonwealth troops had departed physically “within three or four months”, it was “probably not timely to raise this matter with the Americans”.³² As we shall see, however, the force was still nominally a division even after further reduction.

“We should of course like to withdraw our remaining forces from Korea as quickly as we can,” Mr. Campney explained in the House on 28 January 1955. “... The remaining troops are under the direction of the United Nations and associated with other Commonwealth forces so that we cannot really withdraw them out of hand” Accordingly, the Queen’s

†The South Korean Army did not have as many divisions as that title suggests, but it had twenty, which made it the world’s fourth largest army, after Russia, Communist China and the United States.

Own Rifles did not return home until April of that year and were not replaced, while the following Canadian elements were maintained in Korea by man-for-man rotation:

No. 3 Field Ambulance (including Increments*)
 Canadian Section, H.Q. 1st Commonwealth Division
 R.C.O.C., R.C.E.M.E. and Provost Increments
 Canadian Section, Radio Commonwealth.

At the end of May, the field ambulance and attached increment numbered 15 officers and 180 men, and the remainder some 140 all ranks. At the Commonwealth base were No. 2 Canadian Administrative Unit, including a "Rundown and Disposals" staff, and miscellaneous elements such as hospital cases – which brought the total Canadian Army strength in the Korean theatre† to 500.³³

The Commonwealth force was gradually reduced from a brigade group to a battalion group ("Commonwealth Contingent, Korea") and the Canadian component to some forty members of the Medical and Dental Corps. An announcement to that effect was made on 16 February 1956,³⁴ and on March 13 the Field Ambulance gave place to the Canadian Medical Detachment, Korea. A year later, by which time its complete dissolution was in sight, the Commonwealth Contingent consisted of 1628 British, 74 New Zealand, 69 Australian and 33 Canadian officers and men.³⁵

The Canadian Medical Detachment officially ceased to exist on 25 June 1957, the main body of the force sailing from Inch'on the 28th. The British Embassy in Seoul received from President Rhee the following message "to all the officers and men of the British Commonwealth Contingent":

It is with profound appreciation for their exceptionally meritorious service ... that the Korean people bid farewell to the British Commonwealth Contingent.

... I want to say that we are genuinely sad that you are leaving our country Behind you leave 1,133 comrades, marked by the cross, where never a Britisher fought before. We know that you share with us a deep-felt desire to carry on the good fight of faith in the cause of freedom and will continue to serve the ideals and objectives we jointly cherish³⁶

The Impact of Korea

From the time the first Canadian soldier set foot in Japan until the armistice was signed 21,940 members of the Canadian Army served in Korea and Japan.†† The peak Canadian Army strength in the Far East was 8,123 all ranks, reached in January 1952. At the time of the armistice there were

*Motor ambulance and hospital details, and dental, pay, postal and chaplain services.

†Not including the Military Mission in Tokyo.

††This figure includes only once the 484 men who served more than one tour.

7,134 Canadians serving in the theatre.³⁷ This was no small contribution; on a basis of comparison by population, it was equivalent to about four American divisions; the United States in 1950 had eleven times Canada's population. But other figures provide a clearer perspective; the U.S. Army sent approximately 1,153,000 of its soldiers to the Far East.³⁸ Put briefly, Canada's contribution was important, and indeed significantly larger than some other more populous members of the U.N., but the 25th Brigade was nonetheless a small portion of the total U.N. effort.

The peak strengths of all belligerents in Korea were reached just before the cease-fire. On the Communist side the total has been estimated at 1,155,000, of whom 858,000 were Chinese. It is believed that, in addition, there were some 10,000 Soviet troops in various non-battlefield roles.

The United Nations Command consisted of 272,000 South Koreans and 266,000 from the 16 nations represented in the formation. In addition, there were thousands more employed along the lines of communication and in quasi-military roles.³⁹

The static war which took place for the greater part of the time the Canadians were in Korea accounted for what was, by First and Second World War standards, a very low casualty rate. As an example, the 2nd Canadian Infantry Brigade had more casualties in two days, 15-16 August 1917, than the 25th Brigade during the entire time it was in operations.⁴⁰ In all, the Canadian Army suffered 1,543 battle casualties in Korea. Of these 11 officers and 298 other ranks were killed in action, died of wounds or were officially presumed dead, 59 officers and 1,143 other ranks were wounded or injured in action, and 2 officers and 30 other ranks survived as prisoners of war. By way of comparison, in 1950, 2,289 persons in Canada were killed in traffic accidents.⁴¹

It was in the infantry that by far the most casualties occurred in Korea. Only 15 deaths were suffered by corps other than infantry and in fact non-infantry units accounted for less than seven per cent of all battle casualties. This was undoubtedly due to the static nature of the warfare, the complete U.N. air superiority and the lack of an effective Chinese counter-battery organization.

At the time the Armistice was signed, Mr. Pearson was President of the United Nations General Assembly. In his statement on 26 July 1953, he had emphasized that the signing of the Armistice was only a first step. It was "the end of one chapter of bloodshed and fighting. But it is only the beginning of a new and difficult one – the making of peace." He asked that all concerned work toward a political settlement, while acknowledging the difficulties that stood in the way. Three years later, with the Canadian military representation in the country reduced to one officer and an N.C.O., the peace remained completely elusive – but there had been no further fighting.

The most significant feature of the Canadian participation in the U.N. operations in Korea was the establishment of a precedent; when subsequent

international crises arose there was no question of standing aside. The isolationist sentiment that had dominated Canadian foreign policy in peacetime was abandoned in 1950.

For the last two years of the operations in Korea, the Canadian contingent had consisted of professional soldiers. This was a new development for Canada; in the First and Second World Wars her armies were made up of "citizen-soldiers" who had enlisted "for the duration". Canada escaped the consequences of unpreparedness in 1950 (as indeed she had in 1914 and 1939) because great allies took the initial brunt on themselves. It would be optimistic, if not dishonest, to hope that this will always be the case. In any event, by 1955 Canada had developed for the first time in her history a professional expeditionary force; the leaders at all levels who returned to camps and barracks in 1953 were experienced fighting men. During the three years of battle, 146 Canadian officers were decorated or mentioned in despatches and 151 other ranks were similarly honoured.

The Korean War had far less impact on the Canadian public than it had on the Americans. The scale of the contribution tended to confirm the Government's insistence that the operation was a police action and the low casualty rate further supported this view. At no time was it felt necessary to impose any measure of conscription on the nation and after the Special Force enlistees were discharged or absorbed into the Active Force, Korea became the responsibility of professionals, who had presumably known what they were doing when they joined up. The average Canadian citizen could go about his business in the welcome prosperity created by the new expenditures, while enjoying vicariously the newspaper accounts of spirited actions in a far away country by famous Canadian regiments. This, of course, was in the tradition of nineteenth century frontier fighting, but aside from brief participation in the South African War, it was new to Canada.

The realities of the Korean war forced a change of official attitude and policy. In the words of one political economist "this war had been fought, not to secure the unification of Korea under Syngman Rhee, but to establish the principle of collective resistance to aggression, and the objectives of the war had been achieved when the invading armies of North Koreans and Chinese had been thrown back from the Republic of Korea."⁴²

As for the Army, the "police action" in Korea was a positive blessing from the standpoint of professional efficiency. There is no substitute for battlefield experience. When it was found that the torments suffered by the troops in the first winter of the war were due to insufficient training, inadequate clothing and lack of discipline, the much-touted terrors of the Korean winter came into more reasonable focus and were not again a serious problem. When the line was stabilized and Korean civilians were kept back from the fighting zones, much of the disease that had originated in the primitively fertilized paddy fields disappeared. Men still fought the monsoon rains and cursed the heat of July and August, but winter came almost

as a welcome relief.

There remained, of course, the Chinese. By the summer of 1952 they had managed to bring into the forward areas the artillery and ammunition they had lacked in the earlier, fluid battles. In spite of frequent and heavy air interdiction of their normal channels of supply, they were able to mount massive attacks on the U.N. line with varying degrees of success, provided they did so at night. Canadian soldiers learned valuable lessons in this night fighting, while at no time approaching the enemy in night skills.

The new official attitude, mentioned above, confirming as it did the Canadian determination to act whenever possible through the United Nations, inevitably involved the country in other U.N. peace-keeping operations and would in time spread Canadian troops across the world in Truce Teams, Peace Commissions and Emergency Forces in a way that could never have been foreseen in 1945. By 1953, however, the armed forces were in a position to meet these international commitments. The lesson, for the time being at any rate, had been learned.

Comparisons between Korea and any other war in which Canadians have involved themselves must be made with great care. The glory and the tragedy of the Newfoundland Regiment, immolated at Beaumont Hamel, will not be found in these pages. There was no Somme, no Passchendaele, no Hundred Days, no Dieppe, no Hitler Line, no Hochwald, no Victory. There was, however, no defeat. This was a business-like war, if one can tolerate the term in this context, in which the aim was not the total destruction of the enemy. Commanders at all levels bitterly resented every dead soldier as a loss which could never be made up merely by killing Chinese.

This is a situation which the generals on the frontiers have often faced before, with reinforcements far away and only one small army. Under these conditions the soldier must endure, without flinching, the full weight of the enemy's assault, knowing that he is not going to be permitted in return the exhilaration of victory as a reward for his endurance. One must keep this in mind when studying the later stages of the United Nations – and the Canadian – performance in Korea. The Canadian soldier who moved cautiously through the gap in the wire and down the dark slopes of the battered hills in search of battle beneath the great searchlight over Panmunjom was not in his own mind destroying a threat to his homeland; he was being paid to carry out his Government's policy – and at his level this meant preventing some Orientals as innocent as himself from capturing his hill. His Government and its allies had decreed that the enemy should not be allowed to penetrate beyond his hill and he was the instrument to effect this decision. He was a technician, trained for this kind of work, and he was being pitted against the technicians of an adversary with which his country was not at war. A psychologist, after noting the unusual conditions under which the war was fought – the peace talks, the deliberate lack of belligerency, and the policy of rotation – has said that "A desire for social approval, for con-

tinued acceptance by peers, is a very important reason why a soldier will face a danger despite fear. When social approval is possible without all-out effort, it is little wonder that there was less than a total commitment in ... attitude.⁷⁴³ In this light, the many gallant actions fought by the soldiers of the Commonwealth in spite of such conditions, seem all the more remarkable.

This was a new situation, without precedent in Canadian military experience, and it is clearly imperative that someone should decide just what attitudes and techniques are necessary if the traditional kind of Army is to endure it.

APPENDIX "A"

BRIGADIER FLEURY'S REPORT ON HIS FIRST INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL MACARTHUR, 4 OCTOBER 1950

General MacArthur was quite affable and his observations covered a wide range of subjects with apparent freedom and spontaneity. He expressed his pleasure at the impending arrival of Canadian troops

In response to a direct question, the Commander-in-Chief brushed aside the possibility of armed intervention by the Russian and/or the Chinese Communists from Manchuria. Speaking of Russia, he dwelt on intelligence reports of Soviet concentrations in the Siberian area and stressed particularly the Soviet potential in sea and air power in this area. He believes their naval power to be negligible and their air power, though formidable, would be no match for the air forces he can bring to bear immediately from this theatre. With regard to China, he stressed their lack of air power and spoke very confidently of his ability to destroy such ground forces as they would be capable of pushing across the Manchurian border at this time.

The Commander-in-Chief feels that if Russia or China had planned intervention, they have "missed the boat". Some weeks ago the U.N. forces could have been driven out of Korea completely. This is no longer true and he is certain that both Russia and China know this. He is confident that neither the Russians nor the Chinese relish any commitment in support of a lost cause and the North Korean situation is just such a cause, in General MacArthur's opinion

General MacArthur stated that, though Canadian ground troops were not present in Korea, he owed a debt of gratitude to Canada none the less. He spoke at some length of the landing at Inch'on which, he said, followed closely his "vivid recollection" of Wolfe's campaign against Montcalm. He developed this theme in some detail, and stated he has used this historical example to clinch his decision, in dealing with the "people from Washington", that the Inch'on operation should go ahead. He inferred that the consensus of advisory opinion was against the Inch'on operation that he, and he alone, was confident it would succeed and decided to go ahead.

General MacArthur expressed the hope he could return his U.S. Occupation Force ... to Japan very soon after the fighting ceases. He said it was not within his competence to say when all U.N. forces would be withdrawn from Korea but he spoke freely on his own feelings in this matter. These may be summarized as follows:

- (a) elections should be held in Korea within one to two years after the fighting ceases;
- (b) these elections should not be held in the shadow of foreign bayonets;
- (c) all U.N. forces should leave Korea in about one year;
- (d) immediately the fighting ceases, the great task of feeding and rehabilitating the population must commence;
- (e) he hopes that Koreans, both North and South, will be treated with some generosity; he trusts there will be no "witch hunt", long drawn-out war crimes trials, etc. "Let us clean up and get out quickly, as evidence of goodwill";
- (f) he can train and equip at least ten or fifteen Korean divisions and these should be enough for the security of Korea unless the peninsula falls "like a ripe apple" into the hands of the Communists as a result of the further

spread of Communist influence

... the Commander-in-Chief made it quite clear, at least by inference, that there was no question of stopping at the 38th Parallel. He made no reference to recent reports that this matter was the subject of discussion at a high level on an international basis.

I found the Commander-in-Chief to be a most forceful personality with a flair for the well-turned phrase. His comments ranged from the odd joke, through a series of quiet random comments to high sounding statements, delivered forcefully in a platform manner. He has a real sense of history and is apparently not insensible to his own niche in current history. He had a disarming trick of taking the edge off a forceful harangue by throwing in a quip or a bit of near slang.

I am told General MacArthur will be seventy-one next January. One would never guess this from his face. Though his features are not very expressive, even somewhat waxen, his eyes are cold and penetrating, and there: is little or no trace of gray in his hair. He is well-groomed and has two mannerisms which struck me during the interview. He is inclined to stretch his long legs and beat a tattoo on the floor with his heels. He keeps moving his fingers individually when speaking; I believe this to be an attempt to minimize a slight hand tremor. His hands are the only evidence I saw of his age.

In summary, I feel the following constitutes a fair outline of the important features arising out of this interview:

- (a) General MacArthur is quite pleased with the operations in Korea to date;
- (b) he expects operations in Korea will, for all practical purposes, be successfully completed in one month;
- (c) he does not believe China or Russia will intervene with military forces;
- (d) he proposes to throw U.N. forces, other than R.O.K., across the 38th Parallel in the immediate future;
- (e) the Canadian brigade will not arrive in time to fight in Korea but should be despatched nevertheless, according to the Commander-in-Chief;
- (f) a short-term "occupation" of Korea is visualized;
- (g) free elections should be held in Korea in from one to two years after U.N. forces have been withdrawn;
- (h) General MacArthur has no very high opinion of the "people in Washington".

APPENDIX "B"

COMMAND INSTRUCTIONS

13 April 1951

To: Brigadier JM Rockingham, CBE, DSO, ED,
Commander,
25th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group

General

1. This instruction supersedes command instructions (HQTS 1681-151/25 TD 2 (DMO & P 1) dated 14 Nov 50).
2. 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group will proceed to Korea under your command for operations with the United Nations Forces.

Composition

3. The exact composition of your command will be notified separately. 2nd Battalion Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry will revert to your command after arrival of 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group in Korea, under arrangements which will be notified to you by Headquarters, United Nations Command.

Role

4. Your role will be to participate in operational or occupational duties within the territorial limits of Korea under the control of the Commander, United Nations Forces, Korea.
5. Before engaging in operations, except in self-defence, you must ensure that your troops have had sufficient time in the theatre for indoctrination and are operationally fit.

Status

6. There is no law establishing a legal relationship between Canadian Forces and the United Nations Forces as a whole, nevertheless it will be necessary for you to establish a working arrangement in this regard. Therefore, upon arrival in the theatre it will be necessary for you to consult with the Commander, United Nations Forces, concerning this matter.

7. The principle of the separate entity of the Canadian Force, however, shall at all times be maintained. While the grouping of forces is a matter for the operational command to decide, it is anticipated that in the normal course of operations or other activities of the United Nations Forces, your tasks and undertakings will be so allotted or arranged, having regard to the size of the Canadian Force, that its Canadian entity will readily be preserved.

8. While the extent and degree of integration between the Canadian and United Nations Forces, or elements thereof, will be determined by local conditions and circumstances, it is the intention that, notwithstanding the separate nationalities of the Forces, they should be able to participate and associate together in the joint effort with flexibility and with minimum adjustment.

Discipline and administration

9. You will be the Senior Canadian Army Officer in the Far Eastern theatre. The Commander, Canadian Military Mission, Far East, will be your representative at Headquarters, United Nations Command and Headquarters, British Commonwealth Occupation Forces. Commander, Canadian Military Mission, Far East, will be responsible for obtaining and representing your views to these Headquarters on any matter which may arise.

10. You will be responsible for discipline and personnel administrative matters within 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group. Further details concerning this and special powers with respect to discipline will be communicated to you by separate instructions. Administration of the force will be in accordance with existing instructions and such other instructions as may be communicated to you from time to time.

Channels of communication

11. No limitation is placed on your direct channel of communication on any matter with the Chief of the General Staff.

12. Various other matters, including the rendering of reports and war diaries and procedure with respect to honours and awards, will be dealt with in subsequent administrative instructions.

13. Channels of communication will be as follows:—

- (a) Routine administrative correspondence from Army Headquarters will be sent direct to 2 Canadian Administrative Unit.
- (b) Correspondence other than the above will be sent to Headquarters, 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade. Copies of correspondence from Army Headquarters, Ottawa, relating to policy, however, will be sent to Commander, Canadian Military Mission, Far East, at the same time.

[signed] GG Simonds
Lieutenant-General
Chief of the General Staff

APPENDIX "C"

HONOURS AND AWARDS KOREA, 1951-53

The following list shows all Honours and Awards, other than Mention in Despatches, received by members of the Canadian Army for service in the Korean campaign. No distinction is made between confirmed and acting ranks.

COMPANION OF THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH

Brigadier	J.M.	Rockingham, CBE, DSO, ED
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COMMANDER OF THE MOST EXCELLENT ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Brigadier	M.P.	Bogert, DSO, OBE, CD
Brigadier	F.J.	Fleury, MBE, ED
Colonel	G.L.M.	Smith OBE, CD

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER

Lieutenant-Colonel	P.R.	Bingham
Major	J.H.B.	George
Major	V.W.	Jewkes, MC
Lieutenant-Colonel	E.M.D.	Leslie*
Major	R.	Liboiron
Lieutenant-Colonel	J.L.G.	Poulin, CD
Lieutenant-Colonel	H.W.	Sterne, MBE, CD
Lieutenant-Colonel	N.G.	Wilson-Smith, MBE

2nd BAR TO DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER

Lieutenant-Colonel	J.R.	Stone, DSO, MC
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OFFICER OF THE MOST EXCELLENT ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Lieutenant-Colonel	E.A.C.	Amy, DSO, MC
Lieutenant-Colonel	A.J.B.	Bailey, DSO, MBE, ED
Lieutenant-Colonel	E.G.	Brooks, DSO, CD
Lieutenant-Colonel	B.L.P.	Brosseau, MC
Lieutenant-Colonel	J.R.	Cameron
Lieutenant-Colonel	K.L.	Campbell, MBE, CD
Lieutenant-Colonel	C.B.	Caswell, MC
Lieutenant-Colonel	G.C.	Corbould, DSO, ED
Lieutenant-Colonel	E.D.	Danby, DSO
Lieutenant-Colonel	J.A.	Dextraze, DSO
Lieutenant-Colonel	J.D.	Galloway
Lieutenant-Colonel	R.A.	Keane, DSO
Lieutenant-Colonel	M.F.	MacLachlan, MC, CD
Major	D.H.	Rochester
Lieutenant-Colonel	P.F.L.	Sare
Lieutenant-Colonel	L.F.	Trudeau, DSO, CD
Lieutenant-Colonel	J.A.A.G.	Vallée, CD

*Until 20 Mar 52, McNaughton.

MEMBER OF THE MOST EXCELLENT ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Major	A.J.	Abbott
Major	J.C.	Allan, DSO, CD
Major	A.J.	Baker, CD
Major	H.W.	Ball
Major	J.P.	Beer
Major	R.M.	Black
Captain	G.S.	Blake, CD
Major	H.B.	Brodie
Major	R.F.	Bruce, CD
Captain	S.L.	Campbell
Major	J.A.	Clancy, MC
Captain	J.R.	Connell, CD
Captain	D.R.	Copcutt
Major	R.A.	Couche, CD
Major	G.R.	Covey, CD
Major	JA	Dolan
Captain	A.	Dubois
Major	J.R.	Ferris
Captain,	J.A.	Filshie
Captain	G.R.	Fortin
Major	E.T.	Galway, MC, GM
Major	D.H.	George, MC
Major	C.J.A.	Hamilton
Captain	R.J.	Hauser, CD
Major	E.G.	Hession
Major	J.S.	Hitsman
Major	B.D.	Jaffey
Captain	H.W.	Johnson
Major	F.	Klevanic
Major	R.C.D.	Laughton
Major	Q.E.	Lawson, CD
Major	J.E.	Leach, CD
Lieutenant	A.C.	Leonard
Major	T.M.	MacDonald, CD
Captain	J.H.	MacGregor
Major	C.E.C.	MacNeill, ED
Major	P.A.	Mayer, CD
Major	J.R.	McLarnon
Captain	H.E.	McLaughlin
Major	LM.	McLaughlin
Major	J.S.	Orton, MC
Major	C.A.	Pilley, CD
Major	W.R.	Preston
Major	A.	Robinson, MC
Major	J.S.	Roxborough
Major	J.G.	Sévigny, DSO
Lieutenant-Colonel	R.A.	Smillie
Captain	H.C.	Stevenson
Captain	N.G.	Trower
Major	L.R.P.G.	Turcotte
Captain	W.E.	Wheeler, CD
Lieutenant	M.B.	Wood
Squadron Sergeant-Major	E.J.	Armer
Regimental Sergeant-Major	R.V.	Armisbaw
Regimental Sergeant-Major	J.M.	Fernets

Regimental Sergeant-Major	P.	Hache, CD
Regimental Quartermaster-Sergeant	W.H.	Hardon
Regimental Sergeant-Major	W.T.	Seed

ROYAL RED CROSS

Captain (Matron)	E.B.	Pense, ARRC, CD
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MILITARY CROSS

Captain	E.W.	Berthiaume
Captain	D.S.	Caldwell, CD
Lieutenant	C.D.	Carter
Lieutenant	J.	Clark
Captain	H.G.	Cloutier, CD
Lieutenant	L.G.	Cote
Captain	J.E.	deHart
Major	W.H.	Ellis, CD
Lieutenant	F.R.	Freeborn
Lieutenant	H.R.	Gardner
2nd Lieutenant	E.H.	Hollyer
Captain	G.H.	Howitt
Captain	J.G.	Jenkins, CD
Lieutenant	A.M.	King
Captain	R.	Leclerc
Lieutenant	D.G.	Loomis
Lieutenant	E.J.	Mastronardi
Lieutenant	J.G.C.	McKinley
2nd Lieutenant	H.O.	Merrithew
Lieutenant	D.A.	Middleton, MM
Captain	J.G.W.	Mills
Lieutenant	M.T.	O'Brennan
Lieutenant	A.A.S.	Peterson
Lieutenant	H.C.	Pitts
Major	W.H.	Pope
2nd Lieutenant	J.B.	Riffou
2nd Lieutenant	W.C.	Robertson
Lieutenant	G.E.M.	Ruffee
Major	L.E.C.	Schinidlin, MBE, CD
2nd Lieutenant	C.B.	Snider
Major	G.G.	Taylor, ED
Lieutenant	J.P.A.	Therrien
Captain	J.P.R.	Tremblay

DISTINGUISHED FLYING CROSS

Captain	P.J.A.	Tees
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ASSOCIATE OF THE ROYAL RED CROSS

Lieutenant (Nursing Sister)	J.I.	MacDonald
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DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT MEDAL

Private	R.E.	Bauer
Sergeant	R.G.	Buxton
Lance-Corporal	J.P.A.	Harvey
Sergeant	D.A.	McCuish
Private	W.R.	Mitchell

Corporal	E.W.	Poole
Sergeant	J.H.	Richardson

BAR TO DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT MEDAL

Corporal	L.	Major, DCM
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GEORGE MEDAL

Lance-Corporal	S.L.	Sinnott
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MILITARY MEDAL

Sergeant	T.	Allen
Staff-Sergeant	P.	Anderson
Private	E.	Asselin
Private	L.	Barton
Private	K.F.	Barwise
Sergeant	A.	Beaudin
Private	C.O.	Bell
Sergeant	B.	Bergeron
Private	D.W.	Carley
Sergeant	J.R.	Champoux
Staff-Sergeant	V.D.	Cole
Corporal	D.	Cormier
Bombardier	T.E.	Dearden
Lance-Corporal	A.	Dion
Lance-Bombardier	F.M.	Dorman
Lance-Corporal	S.	Douglas
Corporal	J.G.	Dunbar
Sergeant	K.J.	Dunphy
Sergeant	G.E.P.	Enright
Corporal	V.L.	Fenton
Corporal	K.E.	Fowler
Company Sergeant-Major	G.M.	Fox
Private	R.	Gagnon
Gunner	A.M.	Garaughty
Lance-Corporal	J.R.	Gingras
Sergeant	W.G.	Gmveline
Private	J.G.	Guay
Private	J.D.	Johnson
Company Sergeant-Major	L.A.	Johnson
Private	G.P.	Julien
Lance-Bombardier	A.O.	King
Corporal	D.G.	Lemoine
Corporal	G.A.	McKinney
Corporal	J.C.	McNeil
Corporal	K.V.	McOrmond
Corporal	J.G.	Ostiguy
Corporal	J.P.R.	Pearce
Corporal	C.W.H.	Pelley
Corporal	W.D.	Pero
Sergeant	R.A.	Prentice
Sergeant	M.	Prociuk
Private	W.D.	Pugh
Corporal	J.E.	Rimmer
Private	G.G.	R.owden
Private	J.A.	Sargent

Corporal	A. A.	Scott
Sergeant	S.	Sommerville
Sergeant	L.	Steadman
Trooper	R.C.	Stevenson
Corporal	A.I.	Stinson
Lance-Corporal	P.C.	Thompson
Private	O.M.	White
Gunner	K.W.	Wishart

BRITISH EMPIRE MEDAL

Sergeant	J.	Bourdeau
Sergeant	B.I.	Charland
Staff-Sergeant	B.C.	Clouston
Corporal	W.M.	Downs
Lance-Corporal	P.	Dugal
Sergeant	G.W.	Elliott
Staff-Sergeant	D.F.	Weigh
Sergeant	L.P.	Gardiner
Sergeant	M.S.	Haynes
Bombardier	H.E.	Long
Company Sergeant-Major	P.A.	Lynch
Lance-Corporal	H.J.	McCreai y
Lance-Corporal	M.J.	Nixon
Sergeant	J.W.	Parker
Sergeant	R.L.	Ross
Sergeant	C.A.	Stewart
Sergeant	A.E.	Thompson
Sergeant	P.J.	Tomelin
Sergeant	K.G.	Tutte
Sergeant	W.E.	Walters
Trooper	H.	Wyatt

AMERICAN AWARDS

LEGION OF MERIT – DEGREE OF OFFICER

Brigadier	J.V.	Allard, CBE, DSO, ED
Brigadier	M.P.	Bogert, CBE, DSO, CD
Brigadier	F.J.	Fleury, CBE, ED
Brigadier	J.M.	Rockingham, CB, CBE, DSO, ED

LEGION OF MERIT – DEGREE OF LEGIONNAIRE

Colonel	G.L.M.	Smith, CBE, CD
Lieutenant-Colonel	E.D.	Danby, DSO, OBE

BRONZE STAR MEDAL WITH "V" DEVICE

Major	E J.	Williams
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BRONZE STAR MEDAL

Lieutenant-Colonel	E.A.C.	Amy, DSO, OBE, MC
Major	C.O.	Huggard
Major	R.D.	Medland, DSO
Captain	R.J.	Staples

Bombardier

G.I.

Reid

DISTINGUISHED FLYING CROSS

Lieutenant

A.G.

Magee

Lieutenant

J.F.O.

Plouffe

Lieutenant

W.E.

Ward

Captain

J.R.P.P.

Yelle

AIR MEDAL

Lieutenant

A.P.

Bull

Captain

L.R.

Drapeau, DCM

Captain

J.H.

Howard

Lieutenant

D.G.

MacLeod

2nd Lieutenant

W.C.

Robertson

BELGIAN AWARDS

OFFICIER DE L'ORDRE DE LEOPOLD II AVEC PALME
and LA CROIX DE GUERRE 1940 AVEC PALME

Captain

M.H.

Marchessault, CD

Major

J.C.

Stewart

Major

J.E.Y.

Therault, MC

CHEVALIER DE L'ORDRE DE LEOPOLD II AVEC PALME
and LA CROIX DE GUERRE 1940 AVEC PALME

Lieutenant

J.

Gagne

CHEVALIER DE L'ORDRE DE LA COURONNE AVEC PALME
and LA CROIX DE GUERRE 1940 AVEC PALME

Lieutenant

R,W.

Bull

DECORATION MILITAIRE 2e Classe .AVEC PALME
and LA CROIX DE GUERRE 1940 AVEC PALME

Corporal

R.

Portelance

APPENDIX "D"

COMMAND AND STAFF APPOINTMENTS

This list begins with the formation of the 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade. No distinction is made between confirmed and unconfirmed rank. Acting appointments appear only where of other than a routine nature. Decorations are omitted.

CANADIAN SECTION HEADQUARTERS FIRST (COMMONWEALTH) DIVISION

General Staff Officer Grade I:

Lieutenant-Colonel E. D. Danby	27 Jun 51 – 30 Apr 52
Lieutenant-Colonel N. G. Wilson-Smith	1 May 52 – 15 Aug 52
Lieutenant-Colonel E. A. C. Amy	16 Aug 52 – 3 Aug 53
Lieutenant-Colonel M. R. Dare	10 Sep 53 – 21 Aug 54
Lieutenant-Colonel R. E. Hogarth	22 Aug 54 – 1.6 Nov 54

General Staff Officer Grade II (Intelligence):

Major E. A. Blais	13 Dec 51 – 9 Jun 52
Major K. G. McShane	10 Jun 52 – 25 Apr 53
Major P. A. Mayer	26 Apr 53 – 21 Sep 53
Major G. B. Greene	23 Oct 53 – 14 Oct 54

Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General:

Major H. B. Brodie	27 Jun 51 – 31. May 52
Major J. A. R. Rochefort	1 Jun 52 – 19 Apr 53
Major W. W. Coward	20 Apr 53 – 26 Mar 54
Major D. D. Ledingham	28 Mar 54 – 5 Dec 54
Major H. B. Gow	15 Dec 54 – 25 Jul 55
Major A. H. Smedmor	26 Jul 55 – 8 Feb 56
Major P. E. Gower	9 Feb 56 – 15 May 56

Assistant Director of Medical Services:

Colonel G. L. M. Smith	10 May 52 – 24 Apr 53
Colonel J. S. McCannel	25 Apr 53 – 21 Apr 54
Colonel E. J. Young	22 Apr 54 – 24 Nov 54

Senior Chaplain (Roman Catholic):

Major J. A. R. Lupien	11 Aug 51 – 8 Feb 52
Major G. J. Bineau	27 Mar 52 – 13 May 52
Major J Menard	14 May 52 – 6 Apr 53
Major J. J. Valley	7 Apr 53 – 22 Mar 54

Commander, Canadian Section:

(Created to administer the
reduced Canadian element)

Major H. B. Gow	13 Jan 55-25 Jul 55
Major A. H. Smedmor	26 Jul 55 - 8 Feb 56
Major P. E. Gower	9 Feb. 56- 15 May 56

HEADQUARTERS 25TH CANADIAN INFANTRY BRIGADE

Commander:

Brigadier J. M. Rockingham	9 Aug 50 – 27 Apr 52
Brigadier M. P. Bogert	28 Apr 52 – 20 Apr 53
Brigadier J. V. Allard	21 Apr 53 – 14 Jun 54
Brigadier F. A. Clift	15 Jun 54 – 7 Dec 54

Brigade Major:

Major H. F. Wood	17 Aug 50 – 28 Jan 51
Major L. V. Perry	29 Jan 51 – 1 Nov 51
Major D. H. George	2 Nov 51 – 28 Apr 52
Major J. C. Allam	29 Apr 52 – 1 Jul 52
Major J. E. Leach	2 Jul 52 – 8 Mar 53
Major T. M. MacDonald	9 Mar 53 – 1 Oct 53
Major P. A. Mayer	2 Oct 53 – 7 May 54
Major D. S. MacLennan	8 May 54 – 5 Nov 54
Major G. H. Sellar	8 Nov 54 – 26 Aug 56

Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General:

Major J. P. L. Gosselin	17 Aug 50 – 21 Feb 51
Major C. J. A. Hamilton	22 Feb 51 – 28 Apr 52
Major A. J. Baker	29 Apr 52 – 7 Mar 53
Major D. E. Harper	8 Mar 53 – 1 Oct 53
Major H. E. Trimble	2 Oct 53 – 29 Mar 54
Major A. E. Lawrence	30 Mar 54 – 7 Dec 54

Officer in charge of Administration:

(Position abolished 10 Feb 53)

Colonel W. J. Moogk	14 Jul 52 – 10 Feb 53
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LORD STRATHCONA'S HORSE (ROYAL CANADIANS) (2ND ARMoured REGIMENT)

"C" Squadron (4 May 51 - 8 Jun 52):

Major J. W. Quinn	1 Sep 50 – 20 Jul 51
Major V. W. Jewkes	21 Jul 51 – 28 Jun 52

"B" Squadron (2 Jun 52 - 24 May 53):

Major J. S. Roxborough	1 Feb 52 – 8 Jun 53
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"A" Squadron (20 May 53 - 24 May 54):

Major W. H. Ellis	20 Dec 52 – 24 May 54
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THE ROYAL CANADIAN DRAGOONS
(1ST ARMoured REGIMENT)

"D" Squadron (24 May 54 - 14 Nov 54):

Major A. L. MacDonald 1 Nov 53 – 14 Nov 54

ARTILLERY

2nd Field Regiment, RCHA (5 May 51 - 6 May 52):

(Redesignated: 2nd Regiment, RCHA – 18 Jun 51)

Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. B. Bailey 17 Aug 50 – 1 Oct 51

Major J. S. Orton (Acting) 2 Oct 51 – 22 Oct 51

Lieutenant-Colonel E. G. Brooks 23 Oct 51 – 24 Aug 53

1st Regiment, RCHA (3 May 52 - 22 Apr 53):

Lieutenant-Colonel E. M. D. McNaughton 21 Mar 51 – 31 Oct 55

(Name changed to Leslie, 20 Mar 53)

81st Field Regiment, RCA (16 Apr 53 - 9 May 54):

(Redesignated: 4th Regiment, RCHA – 16 Oct 53)

Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. Sterne 4 Nov 52 – 26 May 54

3rd Regiment, RCHA (9 May 54 - 27 Nov 54):

Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. D. Symons 14 Dec 53 – 14 Aug 57

ENGINEERS

57th Canadian Independent Field Squadron (4 May 51 - 3 May 52):

Major D. H. Rochester 23 Aug 50 – 15 Oct 51

Major H. W. Ball 16 Oct 51 – 15 Jun 52

23rd Field Squadron (3 May 52 - 28 Mar 53):

Major E. T. Galway 7 Dec 51 – 22 Oct 53

59th Independent Field Squadron (23 Mar 53 - 26 Mar 54):

(Redesignated: 4th Field Squadron – 16 Oct 53)

Major L. E. C. Schmidlin 18 Sep 51 – 23 Jun 54

3rd Field Squadron (26 Mar 54 - 27 Nov 54):

Major M. O. Rollefson 17 Jan 54 – 2 Oct 54

Major K. L. Cameron 3 Oct 54 – 27 Feb 56

SIGNALS

25th Canadian Infantry Brigade Signal Squadron (3 May 51- 27 Nov 54):

(Redesignated: 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade Signal Troop - 13 Dec 51)

Major D. H. George 30 Aug 50 – 1 Nov 51

Captain W. E. Wheeler	21 Dec 51 – 27 Apr 52
Captain J. R. Connell	28 Apr 52 – 18 Apr 53
Captain R. R. Ulrich	19 Apr 53 – 16 Apr 54
Captain G. W. Garnett	17 Apr 54 – 18 Dec 55

INFANTRY

THE ROYAL CANADIAN REGIMENT

2nd Battalion (5 May 51 - 25 Apr 52):

Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. Keane	17 Aug 50 – 2 Jan 52
Lieutenant-Colonel G. C. Corbould	3 Jan 52 – 31 Aug 57

1st Battalion (20 Apr 52 - 25 Mar 53):

Lieutenant-Colonel P. R. Bingham	16 Dec 48 – 31 Jul 53
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3rd Battalion (23 Mar 53 - 27 Mar 54):

Lieutenant-Colonel K. L. Campbell	3 Jan 51 – 15 Apr 54
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PRINCESS PATRICIA'S CANADIAN LIGHT INFANTRY

2nd Battalion (18 Dec 50 - 4 Nov 51):

Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Stone	18 Aug 50 – 4 Oct 53
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1st Battalion (29 Oct 51 - 4 Nov 52):

Lieutenant-Colonel N. G. Wilson-Smith	16 Sep 50 – 20 Apr 52
Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Cameron	1 May 52 – 11 Apr 55

3rd Battalion (29 Oct 52- 29 Oct 53):

Lieutenant-Colonel G. C. Corbould	30 Nov 50 – 15 Mar 51
Lieutenant-Colonel H. F. Wood	19 Mar 51 – 4 May 53
Major C. E. C. MacNeill (Acting)	5 May 53 – 15 May 53
Lieutenant-Colonel M. F. MacLachlan	16 May 53 – 8 Jan 54

ROYAL 22^e RÉGIMENT

2nd Battalion (4 May 51 - 24 Apr 52):

Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Dextraze	17 Aug 50 – 15 Dec 51
Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. A. G. Vallée	16 Dec 51 – 26 Aug 56

1st Battalion (20 Apr 52 - 21 Apr 53):

Lieutenant-Colonel L. F. Trudeau	14 Jan 50 – 21 Nov 54
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3rd Battalion (16 Apr 53 - 15 Apr 54):

Lieutenant-Colonel H. Tellier	3 Jan 51 – 14 Oct 51
Lieutenant-Colonel J. L. G. Poulin	15 Oct 51 – 31 Aug 54

THE BLACK WATCH (ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT) OF CANADA

2nd Battalion (29 Oct 53 - 3 Nov 54):

Lieutenant-Colonel R. M. Ross23 May 52 – 23 Oct 55

THE QUEEN’S OWN RIFLES OF CANADA

2nd Battalion (26 Mar 54 – 6 Apr 55):

Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. V. Matthews9 May 52 – 31 Aug 56

THE CANADIAN GUARDS

4th Battalion (15 Apr 54 - 26 Nov 54):

Lieutenant-Colonel V. Leduc.....28 Apr 52 – 14 Jun 55

TRANSPORT COMPANIES RCASC

No. 54 Canadian Transport Company (4 May 51 - 11 Apr 52):

Major R. C. D. Laughton24 Aug 50 – 11 Apr 52

No. 23 Transport Company (10 Apr 52 - 27 Mar 53):

Major J. I. Dolan.....21 Jan 52 – 24 Aug 53

No. 56 Transport Company (22 Mar 53 - 15 Apr 54):

Major E. G. Hession21 Jan 52 – 31 May 54

No. 3 Transport Company (26 Mar 54 - 27 Nov 54):

Major J. H. Littlehales2 Feb 54 – 12 Jun 55

MAJOR MEDICAL UNITS

No. 25 Canadian Field Ambulance (4 May 51 - 27 Apr 52):

Lieutenant-Colonel B. L. P. Brosseau.....23 Aug 50 – 30 Sep 52

No. 37 Field Ambulance (10 Apr 52 - 30 Apr 53):

Lieutenant-Colonel C. B. Caswell19 May 49 – 19 Feb 53

Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. Smillie20 Feb 53 – 30 Apr 53

No. 38 Field Ambulance (1 May 53 - 15 Apr 54):

(Redesignated: No. 4 Field Ambulance – 16 Dec 53)

Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. Smillie1 May 53 – 1 Jun 53

Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. Galloway.....2 Jun 53 – 14 Apr 54

No. 3 Field Ambulance (26 Mar 54 - 7 May 56):

Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. Galloway.....15 Apr 54 – 21 May 54

Lieutenant-Colonel A. G. McLaren15 Jul 54 – 13 Jul 55

Lieutenant-Colonel W. R. I. Slack.....14 Jul 55 – 4 Feb 56

Major W. E. Watson 5 Feb 56 – 7 May 56

No. 25 Canadian Field Dressing Station (20 Jul 51 - 9 Nov 54):

Major W. R. Dalziel 5 Jun 51 – 6 Jan 52
 Major R. C. Hardman 7 Jan 52 – 15 May 52
 Major J. S. Hitsman 16 May 52 – 12 Oct 52
 Major J. R. Arsenault 13 Oct 52 – 28 Jul 53
 Major L. S. Glass 29 Jul 53 – 7 Jan 54
 Major L. H. Edwards 8 Jan 54 – 28 Jun 54
 Major G. L. Stoker 29 Jun 54 – 9 Nov 54

Canadian Medical Detachment, Korea (1 Apr 56 - 10 Jul 57):

Major F. Malcolm 1 Apr 56 – 3 Jul 57

DENTAL

No. 20 Canadian Field Dental Detachment (7 Sep 51 - 27 Nov 54):

(Redesignated: No. 25 Canadian Field Dental Unit – 5 Jan 52)

Major H. S. Lankin 3 Dec 50 – 15 Feb 51
 Lieutenant-Colonel G. E. Schragge 16 Feb 51 – 18 Jul 52
 Major G. R. Covey 19 Jul 52 – 27 Apr 53
 Major A. R. Smith 28 Apr 53 – 20 May 53
 Lieutenant-Colonel B. P. Kearney 21 May 53 – 11 May 54
 Lieutenant-Colonel W. M. Sinclair 12 May 54 – 27 Nov 54

MAJOR ORDNANCE UNITS

No. 25 Canadian Infantry Brigade Ordnance Company (4 May 51 - 2 Jan 52):

Major L. V. Patrick 24 Sep 50 – 1 Mar 51
 Major H. R. Ferris 2 Mar 51 – 10 Dec 51

(This unit was reduced to “Nil strength”, effective 2 Jan 52; all personnel were “struck off strength”, effective 10 Dec 51 to Canadian Army Ordnance Elements, First (Commonwealth) Division.)

Canadian Army Ordnance Elements, First (Commonwealth) Division

(26 Sep 51 – 20 Jan 55):

Major H. R. Ferris 11 Dec 51 – 16 Apr 52
 Major G. F. Pinfold 16 Apr 52 – 5 Mar 53
 Major W. R. Preston 6 Mar 53 – 10 Mar 54
 Major A. E. Allen 11 Mar 54 – 16 Jan 55

(This unit was formed in Korea from No. 25 Canadian Infantry Brigade Ordnance Company as part of an integrated Ordnance Field Park. Its commander also commanded the integrated unit.)

RCEME WORKSHOPS

No. 25 Canadian Support Workshop (disembarked 5 May 51):

(reduced to “nil strength” – 2 Jan 52)

Major W. A. Down	2 Nov 50 – 8 May 51
Major R. C. Lane	14 Jun 51 – 15 Dec 51

No. 191 Canadian Infantry Workshop (4 May 51 - 16 Apr 53):

Major A. H. R. Lewis	30 Aug 50 – 6 Oct 50
Major R. E. Hallam	7 Oct 50 – 23 Nov 51
Major R. C. Lane	16 Dec 51 – 25 Apr 52
Major I. M. McLaughlin	26 Apr 52 – 29 Nov 52
Major D. D. Campbell	30 Nov 52 – 19 Apr 53

No. 23 Infantry Workshop (15 Apr 53 - 15 Apr 54):

(Redesignated: No. 40 Infantry Workshop – 16 Dec 53)

Major V. W. Bethel	3 Dec 52 – 20 Oct 53
Major H. McManus	21 Oct 53 – 5 Apr 54

No. 42 Infantry Workshop (26 Mar 54 - 1 Feb 55):

Major F. Coultish	21 Nov 53 – 3 Sep 56
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PROVOST

No. 25 Canadian Provost Detachment (4 May 51 - 25 Dec 54):

Major R. I. Luker	9 Sep 50 – 14 Mar 52
Major E. J. Amirault	15 Mar 52 – 5 Dec 52
Major Q. E. Lawson	14 Dec 52 – 18 Nov 53
Major A. R. Ritchie	19 Nov 53 – 27 Nov 54

(The Canadian Detachment commander also commanded the Commonwealth Divisional Provost Company, of which this unit operated as a section.)

No. 25 Canadian Field Punishment Camp (5 May 51 - 16 Nov 54):

(Redesignated: No. 25 Field Detention Batracks – 20 Sep 51)

Captain V. H. Richardson	20 Mar 51 – 18 Oct 51
Captain C. A. Breakey	19 Oct 51 – 19 Dec 51
Captain E. J. Amirault	22 Dec 51 – 14 Mar 52
Captain J. B. McNeill	15 Apr 52 – 26 Jul 52
Captain D. S. Patterson	2 Sep 52 – 7 Apr 53
Captain E. O. Snelgrove	8 Apr 53 – 16 Aug 53
Captain G. A. Kyle	17 Aug 53 – 1 Dec 53
2nd Lieutenant J. H. Turner	2 Dec 53 – 18 Mar 54
Captain R. J. Stinson	19 Mar 54 – 16 Nov 54

INTELLIGENCE

No. 1 Canadian Field Security Section (4 May 51 – 31 Dec 51):

Captain M.G. Corbeil	30 Aug 50 – 14 Dec 51
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MISCELLANEOUS

Administrative Increment to 2 PPCLI:

Lieutenant-Colonel L. R. Crue..... 5 Mar 51 – 25 Sep 51

No. 25 Canadian Public Relations Unit (4 May 51 - 14 Jan 55):

Major C. C. McDougall 18 Oct 50 – 20 Dec 51
 Captain P. Plastow 21 Dec 51 – 14 Apr 52
 Captain C. H. Bowering..... 15 Apr 52 – 4 Nov 52
 Captain G. E. McElroy 5 Nov 52 – 9 May 53
 Major G. W. Pearce 10 May 53 – 27 May 54
 Major J. F. Taylor 28 May 54 – 16 Nov 54
 Captain E. C. Luxton 17 Nov 54 – 14 Jan 55

UNITS IN JAPAN

Canadian Mission Military, Far East

Commander:

Brigadier F. J. Fleury 22 Sep 50 – 23 Aug 51
 Brigadier J. P. E. Bernatchez 24 Aug 51 – 15 Nov 51
 Brigadier A. B. Connelly 16 Nov 51 – 25 Aug 52
 Brigadier R. E. A. Morton 26 Aug 52 – 31 Oct 54
 Brigadier C. B. Ware 1 Nov 54 – 1 Jul 55
 Colonel E. D. Elwood 2 Jul 55 – 18 Jul 57
 Colonel N. H. Ross 19 Jul 57 – 31 Jul 57

Assistant Adjutant General:

Lieutenant-Colonel P. F. L. Sare 22 Sep 50 – 26 Jul 51
 Lieutenant-Colonel D. A. Kellough..... 27 Jul 51 – 1 Oct 53
 Lieutenant-Colonel R. B. McDougall 2 Oct 53 – 1 Feb 55

Assistant Quartermaster General:

Lieutenant-Colonel L. R. Crue..... 22 Sep 50 – 20 Feb 51

Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General:

Major G. P. Hartling 10 Mar 51 – 17 Apr 52
 Major F. N. Clifford..... 18 Apr 52 – 9 Jul 55

Headquarters Canadian Base Units, Far East

Commander:

Colonel W. J. Moogk 11 Feb 53 – 9 Jul 53
 Colonel J. B. Allan..... 10 Jul 53 – 2 Aug 54
 Colonel E. D. Elwood 3 Aug 54 – 14 May 55

Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General:

Major J. C. Laidlaw 10 Feb 53 – 15 Dec 53
 Major K. C. Pennie 16 Dec 53 – 25 Nov 54

Canadian Section, Line of Communication and Base Troops

British Commonwealth Forces in Korea (Formed 26 Sep 51):
(Redesignated: Canadian Communications Zone Detachments,
British Commonwealth Forces in Korea, 10 Feb 52)

Commander:

Lieutenant-Colonel L. R. Crue	26 Sep 51 – 10 Feb 53
Major J. M. Mulligan	14 Feb 53 – 1 Dec 53
Major J. Smith	8 Dec 53 – 8 Nov 54

Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General:

Major H. V. Davies	8 Dec 51 – 1 Dec 52
Major J. C. Laidlaw	19 Dec 52 – 9 Feb 53

(Tokyo)

Major K. W. Eagan	21 Aug 52 – 2 Apr 53
Major A. S. Christian	3 Apr 53 – 12 Mar 54
Major A. H. Fraser	16 Mar 54 – 8 Nov 54

No. 57 General Transport Company:

(Redesignated: No. 58 General Transport Company - 27 Feb 53)

Major R. A. Labelle	1 Dec 52 – 23 Jan 54
Major A. J. Pullen	24 Jan 54 – 19 Nov 54
Captain G. S. Weatherall	20 Nov 54 – 25 Feb 55

No. 2 Canadian Movement Control Group:

Major J. I. Dolan	7 Oct 50 – 10 Dec 50
Captain L. W. Garen	11 Dec 50 – 29 Mar 51
Major E. A. C. Reynolds	30 Mar 51 – 17 Sep 52
Major W. B. T. Gillis	18 Sep 52 – 29 Aug 53
Major A. Egerton	30 Aug 53 – 28 Feb 54
Major D. R. McKay	1 Mar 54 – 4 Jan 55

Canadian Section, British Commonwealth Hospital:

Lieutenant-Colonel J. E. Andrew	27 Jun 51 – 11 Dec 51
Major A. B. C. Powell	12 Dec 51 – 21 Feb 52
Lieutenant-Colonel N. H. McNally	22 Feb 52 – 4 Nov 52
Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. Ainslie	5 Nov 52 – 6 Jul 53
Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. R. Croskey	10 Jul 53 – 28 Jun 54
Lieutenant-Colonel A. F. Nancekivell	29 Jun 54 – 20 Nov 54

No. 25 Canadian Reinforcement Group:

Major W. F. Johnston	5 Oct 50 – 17 Oct 50
Lieutenant-Colonel G. C. Corbould	18 Oct 50 – 29 Nov 50
Major W. F. Johnston	30 Nov 50 – 15 Mar 51
Lieutenant-Colonel G. C. Corbould	16 Mar 51 – 26 Dec 51
Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Cameron	27 Dec 51 – 20 Apr 52
Lieutenant-Colonel G. O. Taschereau	21 Apr 52 – 3 May 53
Lieutenant-Colonel N. M. Gemmell	4 May 53 – 20 May 54
Lieutenant-Colonel L. H. Young	21 May 54 – 15 Jan 55

No. 2 Canadian Administrative Unit:

Lieutenant-Colonel T. H. Carlisle	2 Sep 50 – 11 Jun 51
Lieutenant-Colonel R. M. Campbell	12 Jun 51 – 19 Jun 52
Lieutenant-Colonel R. R. Taylor	20 Jun 52 – 24 May 53
Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. K. Rutherford	25 May 53 – 17 May 54
Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Allen.....	18 May 54 – 4 Oct 54
Major J. G. MacMurdo.....	5 Oct 54 – 10 Dec 54
Captain P. Robertson.....	11 Dec 54 – 15 Jan 55
Major A. F. Mitchell	16 Jan 55 – 5 Jul 55
Major N. P. Nedved.....	6 Jul 55 – 5 Dec 55
Major D. A. Carmichael.....	6 Dec 55 – 15 Aug 56

Canadian Element, Rundown and Disposal Organization, BCFK:

Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Allen.....	20 Dec 54 – 1 Apr 55
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ABBREVIATIONS

A.G.	Adjutant General
B.C.F.K.	British Commonwealth Forces in Korea
B.C.O.F.	British Commonwealth Occupation Forces
C.A.S.F.	Canadian Army Special Force
C.C.F.	Chinese Communist Forces
C.D.C.	Canadian Dental Corps
C.G.S.	Chief of the General Staff
C.I.B.	Canadian Infantry Brigade
C.I.B.R.G.	Canadian Infantry Brigade Replacement Group
C.I.G.S.	Chief of the Imperial General Staff
C.-in-C.	Commander-in-Chief
C.J.A.T.C.	Canadian Joint Air Training Centre
C.O.	Commanding Officer
C.P.	Command Post
Cpl.	Corporal
Col.	Colonel
D.A.A. & Q.M.G.	Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General
D.C.M.	Distinguished Conduct Medal
D.F.	Defensive Fire
D.M.T.	Director of Military Training
EUSAK.	Eighth United States Army, Korea
Fd.	Field
F.D.L.	Forward Defended Locality
F.D.S.	Field Dressing Station
F.O.O.	Forward Observation Officer
F.S.T.	Field Surgical Team
G.H.Q.	General Headquarters
Gnr.	Gunner
G.O.C.	General Officer Commanding
H.M.C.	His/Her Majesty's Canadian
J.A.G.	Judge Advocate General
"Katcom"	Korean Augmentation to Commonwealth
K.S.L.I.	King's Shropshire Light Infantry
L.A.A.	Light Anti-Aircraft
L/Cpl.	Lance-Corporal
L.M.G.	Light Machine-gun
L. of C.	Line of Communication
M.C.	Military Cross
M.M.	Military Medal
mm	millimetre
M.M.G.	Medium Machine-gun
M.P.	Member of Parliament
M.S.F.	Mobile Striking Form
NAAFI	Navy, Army and Air Force Institute
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
N.C.O.	Non-commissioned officer
N.K.P.A.	North Korea People's Army
O.C.	Officer Commanding
P.C.	Privy Council
P.J.B.D.	Permanent Joint Board on Defence

P.P.C.L.I.....	Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry
Pte. or Pvt.....	Private
P.W.	Prisoner of War
Q.M.G.	Quartermaster General
R.A.	Royal Artillery
R.A.R.	Royal Australian Regiment
R.C.A.	Royal Canadian Artillery
R.C.A.F.	Royal Canadian Air Force
R.C.A.M.C.	Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps
R.C.A.S.C.	Royal Canadian Army Service Corps
R.C.D.C.	Royal Canadian Dental Corps
R.C.E.	Royal Canadian Engineers
R.C.E.M.E.	Royal Canadian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers
R.C.H.A.	Royal Canadian Horse Artillery
R.C.N.	Royal Canadian Navy
R.C.O.C.	Royal Canadian Ordnance Corps
R.C.R.	The Royal Canadian Regiment
R.C. Sigs.	Royal Canadian Corps of Signals
R.C.T.	Regimental Combat Team
R.E.M.E.	Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers
R.O.K.	Republic of Korea
R & R.	Rest and Recreation
R. 22e R.	Royal 22e Régiment
R.S.M.	Regimental Sergeant Major
SEPE.	Seattle Port of Embarkation
Sgt.	Sergeant
SMG.....	Sub Machine-gun
Sqn.	Squadron
T.C.O.	Train Conducting Officer
Tpr.	Trooper
U.S.A.F.	United States Air Force
U.S.N.S.	United States Naval Ship
V.C.G.S.	Vice Chief of the General Staff

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21. Interview with Capt. E. D. Snelgrove, OC 25 Cdn Field Detention Barracks, 1 Aug 53.
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26. *Ibid.*, January 1954: Appx No. 20.
27. 25 Cdn Inf Bde Op Instr No. 77, "Watch Dog II", 13 Jan 54, Appx No. 1 to War Diary. "25 Cdn Inf Bde, Korea, 27 Jul 53 – 23 May 54", Appx "A".
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30. Statement by Hon. Ralph O. Campney, 13 Sep 54, PN 218-54,
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32. Tel., Cdn Joint Staff London to Combined Chiefs of Staff, Ottawa, 23 Sep 54.
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34. *Debates House of Commons*, 1956, II, 1231.
35. Memo., CGS to Minister, 2 Apr 57.
36. Copy on *ibid.*
37. Unless otherwise stated, all figures are supplied by the Directorate of Personnel Statistics, AHQ.
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