

MACARTHUR AND THE KOREAN WAR



A Re-creation of a Senate Hearing, Examining Whether or Not
President Truman was Justified in Firing General MacArthur



MacARTHUR AND THE KOREAN WAR: SENATE HEARING

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President Truman was justified in firing General MacArthur

STEVE DENNY, the author of *SENATE HEARING: MacARTHUR AND THE KOREAN WAR*, graduated from Gonzaga University and did graduate work at the University of Portland. For Interact he has also written four other re-creations on Congressional sessions for this series as well as two simulations—*WORLD* and *STATEHOOD*—and an individual learning project—*LOCALITY*. Currently Steve teaches history in Evergreen High School, Vancouver, Washington.

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Why did Truman's firing of MacArthur create such a controversy in 1951?

This historical re-creation has students taking part as senators, military leaders and their aides, and observers/participants in the 1951 congressional hearings concerning President Harry S. Truman's firing of five-star General-of-the-Army Douglas A. MacArthur. The specific purpose of the hearings was to look into the firing of the general by the president. The action taken by the president was deemed unpopular and controversial, to say the least. As your students get deeply involved in the many issues surrounding President Truman's bold action, they will experience the following:

Knowledge

1. Realizing that opinion regarding the president's decision to fire General MacArthur was definitely not unanimous. Strong arguments were advanced by both sides favoring and opposing the act.
2. Understanding that the decision to "fire" the general was brought about by the president's belief that World War III must be prevented.
3. Learning that the move to fire General MacArthur was a move to make clear the powers of the president, as civilian commander and chief, over the military.
4. Realizing that the growth of a nation is a long, slow process characterized by continual challenge and change.

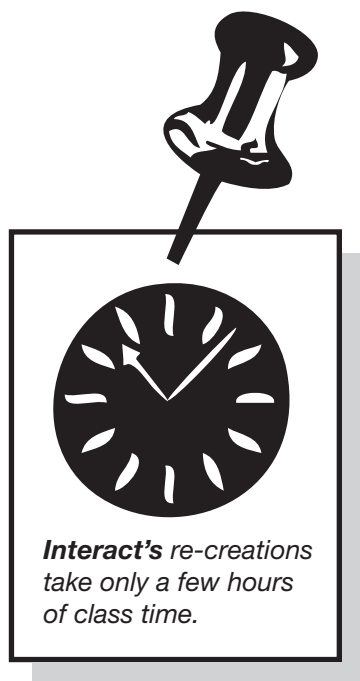
Attitudes

1. Recognizing the difficulty in deciding a course of action when two powerful points of view are in conflict.
2. Appreciating the democratic process available for reacting to a problem troubling our nation.
3. Becoming aware of the vast scope of the Truman-MacArthur controversy as it pertained to national security, foreign policy, and presidential powers.

Skills

1. Organizing and presenting information clearly and accurately.
2. Working effectively with others in planning, executing, and evaluating a group activity.
3. Using various types of information and contrary points of view as sources for a specific purpose.

OVERVIEW



Four class periods—or days—are needed for this re-creation of Truman vs. MacArthur.

Day 1

In the first hour students are given background information concerning events of this historical period. Students are divided into three groups: a) four military generals and their aides, who will give testimony to a congressional committee; b) five senators, members of a special Senate committee, who will conduct an investigative hearing on the dismissal of General MacArthur by President Truman; and c) the remainder of the class who are observers/participants in the Senate hearing. With the aid of general and specific information provided, these groups meet and prepare to give and take testimony in relationship to four argument concerns which will be presented during the second and third hours. An overnight assignment is also provided.

Days 2-3

During the second and third hours, the classroom is divided. The observers/participants observe the five senators questioning the four generals separately. The testimony is concerned with the four arguments outlined in the Student Guide and given in further depth in the separate handouts provided for each senator and general. Observers/participants record the testimony on their note-taking sheets. After all testimony has been heard, a vote is taken. An overnight assignment is provided for the debriefing the next day.

Day 4

The class is again divided in the final hour for an optional UNIT TEST or a Debriefing on the historical aftermath. Emphasis is placed on the historical importance of President Truman's decision to dismiss General MacArthur.

SETUP DIRECTIONS



Note: You will not need to duplicate the bulleted items the first time you use this re-creation, for *Interact* has provided different colored handouts for students playing these roles. If you choose to give the UNIT TEST—an optional activity—you will have to duplicate it. All other items necessary for the re-creation are in the Student Guide.

1. **Decision about time** This re-creation was written to function within four class periods—one for preparation, two for the re-creation, and one for the Debriefing. However, after carefully studying the Student Guide pages and the various Teacher Guide handouts, you may want to alter it significantly because of your students' abilities, the materials on hand, and the time pressure you feel.
2. **Handouts** See note at left the first time you use this re-creation. For subsequent classes, duplicate the number in parentheses, using the masters in this Teacher Guide.
 - SENATOR RICHARD RUSSELL (one: two pages, back to back)
 - SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE JR (one: two pages, back to back)
 - SENATOR WAYNE MORSE (one: two pages, back to back)
 - SENATOR LYNDON JOHNSON (one: two pages, back to back)
 - SENATOR BRIEN MacMAHON (one: two pages, back to back)
 - GENERAL DOUGLAS A. MacARTHUR (two: one for MacArthur and one for his aide, eight pages, back to back)
 - GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL (two: one for Marshall and one for his aide, four pages, back to back)
 - GENERAL OMAR BRADLEY (two: one for Bradley and one for his aide, five pages, back to back)
 - GENERAL ALBERT C. WEDEMAYER (two: one for Wedemeyer and one for his aide, three pages, back to back)
 - GENERAL'S RESPONSE MODEL OUTLINE (eight: one for each general and one for each aide—see the handouts, two of each general's color—one page)

Optional:

- * UNIT TEST (class set: one page)

3. **Establishing roles** The five senators' and four generals' roles require capable students. Their questioning and testimony are vital to the success of the re-creation. The generals' aides also need to be reliable students since they may have to step in for the general in case he/she is absent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY



Consider speaking to your friendly librarian. Ask him/her to set up a special MacARTHUR AND THE KOREAN WAR RESERVE bookshelf so that your capable students can check out books early in order to “flesh out” their identities.

- Higgins, Trumbull, *Korea and the Fall of MacArthur*, Oxford University, 1960.
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- Senate Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Relations, 82nd Congress, 1st Session, *Hearings to Conduct an Inquiry into the Military situation in the Far East and the Facts surrounding the Relief of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur from His Assignments in That Area* (hereinafter cited as *Hearings on the Military situation in the Far East*), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1951.
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- Truman, Harry S., *Memoirs (Volume. II): Years of Trial and Hope*, New American Library, 1964.
- Whitney, Courtney, *MacArthur: His Rendezvous with History*, Knopf, 1956.
- Willoughby, Charles, and Chamberlain, John, *MacArthur 1941-1951*, McGraw-Hill, 1954.



DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 1



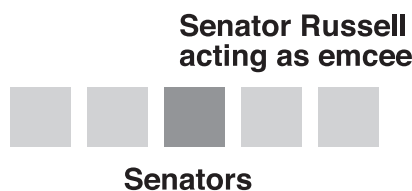
Also assign your students to read the chapter(s) in their textbook covering the Korean War and the firing of General MacArthur...

Before Day 1 Be sure you have thoroughly examined the Teacher Guide, the Student Guide, and the various handouts.

Day 1

1. Pass out the Student Guides. Read aloud to your students the Purpose on page 1. It is vital for you to establish interest in this period of history and the re-creation your students are about to enter. You can do this with a lecture and/or an audio-visual presentation (filmstrip, movie, or video tape) and reinforce this introduction with a reading of the Background Essay.
2. Have students read the Background Essay in the Student Guide. This essay will give each student the same background information to begin the re-creation. Next, refer students to the Procedure section, Day 1, Assignment, on page 4 of the Student Guide.
3. Divide the class into three groups: a) four generals, who will give testimony; b) five senators, who will question the generals; and c) the remainder of the class as note-taking observers/participants. Allow each of the generals to pick one aide from the latter group.
4. Give the four generals (also a copy to each of their aides) and the five senators their individual handouts. No student receives any handout except for the role he/she is playing. Students role-playing observers/participants will record testimony they hear on their note sheets. The instructions

During this mini-unit your students will meet occasionally in separate cooperative learning groups.



DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 2



Encourage your students to practice giving their speeches and asking their questions—aloud! Above all, insure that they do not simply read their material from the handouts you have given them.

for such note-taking are located in the Student Guide on page 5 under Procedure, Day 1, #6. Students may refer to the Arguments Outline in their Student Guides for an overall picture of both sides positions. Encourage students to study these arguments in advance.

5. Allow students to meet or prepare.
 - a. Observers/participants meet individually or in small groups to prepare their note sheets and go over the Arguments Outlines on page 7 in the Student Guide.
 - b. The five students role-playing the senators meet, elect a chairperson (Senator Russell), establish an order of how the questioning will take place, go over their handouts, and study the Arguments Outlines in the Student Guide.
 - c. The four students role-playing generals meet with their aides to review the testimony they will give about each of the four key questions and to fill out the GENERAL'S RESPONSE MODEL OUTLINE.
6. As an overnight assignment have the students playing the major roles continue with their preparation. Have the students who are observers/participants write responses to the statements in the Student Guide on page 5, under #7 overnight assignment.

Days 2-3

1. Arrange students in the room with the five senators facing the four generals and their aides with a wide space containing two empty chairs or desks between the groups. Have the note-taking observers/participants sit perpendicular to the senators and generals in rows in the rear half of the room.
2. The student role-playing Senator Russell, the committee chairperson, is responsible for keeping the hearing orderly. Be sure this student understands his/her function and follows directions on the handout.
3. The chairperson calls General MacArthur to the stand first. He is questioned by each senator alternately, the chairperson refraining from questioning. Each senator asks General MacArthur questions about each of the four argument areas. When all four argument areas have been covered, the chairperson calls for final comments or questions. The chairperson then moves on to the second witness, General Marshall; then on to the third, General Bradley; and, lastly, Lt. General Wedemeyer. Allow at least 15 minutes for questioning each general. Each general may

DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 3



pause occasionally to consult with his/her aide before responding.

4. At the end of the hearing, allow each senator, including the chairperson, to make a final statement.
5. The chairperson now asks for a show of hands from the observers/participants and indicates this represents a poll of concerned citizens. Prior to this voting, the chairperson may allow the observers/participants to meet in small groups or as individuals to review their notes. After the vote, the chairperson calls the roll of the senators, including himself/herself, and announces the result from the tally. (Of course, it is only the senators' vote which counts, but they likely will be influenced by the public opinion poll referred to above.)
6. After the vote, give students an overnight assignment such as that found in the Student Guide. Note: If you plan to give students the UNIT TEST, refer them to the Testing section on page 8 in their Student Guides.

Final Day

1. *Optional:* Pass out the UNIT TEST and have students complete the objective part of the exam and/or the essay questions. (Key to Part 1 of the UNIT TEST: 1. 0, 2. +, 3. 0, 4. 0, 5. +, 6. 0, 7. +, 8. 0, 9. +, 10. +.)
2. If you plan to present the Debriefing activity, have students turn to page 8 in their Student Guides. Be sure you are familiar with the debriefing situation before you present it. The debriefing situation is a response to the committee hearing.
3. Divide the class into five groups of students with one of the five senators as the spokesperson for each group. Each group then discusses the five "conclusions" published by the 11 Republicans who supported MacArthur rather than Truman. Individual students should respond *true* or *false* to each of these five "conclusions." Then a tally should be taken and the results reported back to the large group for evaluation and discussion. Allow enough time to answer the discussion questions provided in the Student Guide. If you run out of time, you may give these questions as an overnight assignment.
4. You may wish to do the Debriefing in one hour and the UNIT TEST the following day.

SENATOR RICHARD RUSSELL - 1



While role-playing Senator Richard Russell, a Democrat from Georgia, you will be chairperson of the Senate committee conducting an inquiry into the situation in the Far East. You will examine the facts surrounding the relief of General-of-the-Army Douglas MacArthur from his assignment in the Korean War. Your major responsibility is to keep the hearing well organized with questions and answers flowing smoothly. Follow the instructions provided for you below. Be sure you understand them before you begin the hearing.

Instructions

1. **Classroom arrangement** Make sure the classroom has been set up properly. Refer to Procedure, Days 2-3, #2 Setup, on page 6 of your Student Guide.
2. **Getting started** Call the hearing to order. Then, using a serious tone of voice, slowly read aloud the following statement which Senator Russell actually made at the opening of the 1951 hearings.

“Gentlemen of the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Foreign Relations, today we are opening hearings on momentous questions. These questions affect not only the lives of every citizen, but they are vital to the security of our country and the maintenance of our institutions of free government

“General-of-the-Army Douglas MacArthur has consented to be the first witness at these hearings. I am sure it is unnecessary for me to attempt to recount in detail the deeds and services which have endeared General MacArthur to the American people.

“On the permanent pages of our history are inscribed his achievements as one of the great captains of history through three armed conflicts; but he is not only a great military leader. His broad understanding and knowledge of the science of politics have enabled him to restore and stabilize a conquered country (Japan) and to win for himself and for his country the respect and affection of a people who were once our bitterest enemies.

“The general is here today to counsel with our committees and to help us in the fulfillment of our legislative responsibilities.

“The guiding light here today ... must be the national interest, for the national interest transcends, in importance, the fortunes of any individual or group of individuals.”

3. **Questioning** Follow the exact order of questioning as provided in numbers 4, 5, 6, and 7 on page 9. Encourage all senators to ask the questions provided for them on their role sheets. *Although the senators may read the questions exactly as the questions are written, encourage them to put the questions in their own words.* If the senators use their own words, they will sound more real. Of course, the senators may also ask questions not provided—but only as long as those questions fall within one of the four argument areas.



*Speak slowly...
deliberately...
confidently...*

*Look the senators
right in the eye as
you speak.*

Note:

Once the questioning begins, you should allow each senator about five to six minutes to question a general within one argument area. Since all four senators get to question each general, expect each general to testify for at least 20-25 minutes.

SENATOR RICHARD RUSSELL - 2



*Your body language should be that of a person whose attention is totally focused upon the task at hand: **keeping order.***

*Prior to taking the actual vote, you may wish to allow the observers/participants time to meet in small groups or as individuals to review their notes. **Note:** The four generals, of course, do not vote.*

4. **General MacArthur** Call the general to the stand. Announce to the observers/participants that the committee is about to question General MacArthur in each of the four argument areas.
 - Argument #1: Soviet Threat (Senator Morse)
 - Argument #2: Effects on Allies (Senator MacMahon)
 - Argument #3: War Strategy (Senator Lodge)
 - Argument #4: The Firing (Senator Johnson)
5. **General Marshall** Call the general to the stand. Announce to the observers/participants that the committee is about to question General Marshall in each of the four argument areas. (General Marshall presents testimony supporting the president.)
 - Argument #1: Soviet Threat (Senator MacMahon)
 - Argument #2: Effects on Allies (Senator Lodge)
 - Argument #3: War Strategy (Senator Johnson)
 - Argument #4: The Firing (Senator Morse)
6. **General Bradley** Call the general to the stand. Announce to the observers/participants that the committee is about to question General Bradley in each of the four argument areas. (General Bradley presents testimony supporting the president.)
 - Argument #1: Soviet Threat (Senator Lodge)
 - Argument #2: Effects on Allies (Senator Johnson)
 - Argument #3: War Strategy (Senator Morse)
 - Argument #4: The Firing (Senator MacMahon)
7. **General Wedemeyer** Call the general to the stand. Announce to the observers/participants that the committee is about to question General Wedemeyer in each of the four argument areas. (General Wedemeyer presents testimony supporting General MacArthur.)
 - Argument #1: Soviet Threat (Senator Johnson)
 - Argument #2: Effects on Allies (Senator Morse)
 - Argument #3: War Strategy (Senator MacMahon)
 - Argument #4: The Firing (Senator Lodge)
8. **Comment** After General Wedemeyer's testimony, the hearing is ready to end with a vote. As chairperson you may wish to make a final comment before calling for this vote.
9. **Vote** When taking the vote, ask the following questions of the observers/participants:
 - a. "Those who favor General MacArthur's point of view as manifested by testimony before this committee signify by raising your hands."
 - b. "Those who favor President Truman's point of view as manifested by testimony before this committee signify by raising your hands."

Now ask each senator how he/she votes. You are a voting member and must vote. If time allows, the senators may give reasons for their vote. Be sure you keep a tally and announce the results.

SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE JR. - 1

You will role-play Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., Republican from Massachusetts. While role-playing this senator, you will be a member of a congressional committee conducting an inquiry into the situation in the Far East. You will examine the facts surrounding the relief of General-of-the-Army Douglas MacArthur from his assignment in the Korean War. Your major responsibility is to question each of the four generals about one of the four argument areas. Follow the instructions provided for you below. Be certain that you understand whom you are questioning, in what argument area, and when. Consult with the chairperson, Senator Russell, if you have any questions concerning procedure.

Instructions



Consider putting these questions on 3" x 5" (or 4" x 6") note cards. You don't have to write them down verbatim. Instead, practice asking the questions from sentence fragment notes you have placed on the cards.

Questioning Follow the exact order of questioning as provided for you below. Ask the questions provided for you in each of the four argument areas. You may read them or put them in your own words. (*Doing the latter is recommended.*) Of course, if time is available, you may also ask questions that have not been provided so long as you stay within the scope of the argument area in which you are questioning. You will be allowed five to seven minutes to question each general about one argument area.

Questions for General Douglas MacArthur

You will question General MacArthur third in Argument #3: War Strategy.

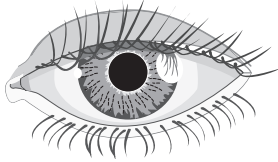
1. General, do you feel you were opposing the administration's policies in Korea?
2. How do you view the administration's policy in regards to Korea?
3. General, if we use Nationalist Chinese troops and carry the war into mainland China, are we not inviting countless deaths, bloodshed, and the possibility of World War III?
4. General, isn't it the responsibility of the government to view the Korean conflict on both a *military* and *political* basis? You seem to separate them and say a military victory is a political victory. Isn't it the difference in these two points of view that caused the president to dismiss you?
5. You have stated before, general, that Korea is "a half war," and only "a whole war" can bring victory and retain peace. Please explain what you meant.

SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE - 2

Questions for General George C. Marshall

You will question General Marshall second in Argument #2: Effects on Allies.

1. What effect did General MacArthur's public statements have on our allies?
2. Were General MacArthur's public statements really hurting our relationships with our allies?
3. General, the obvious disagreement between the general and the president in regards to policy seems to create an uneasy feeling among our allies. Do you agree?



Establish eye contact as you question the generals.

Questions for General Omar Bradley

You will question General Bradley first in Argument #1: Soviet Threat.

1. General, in your opinion, does Russia really pose a threat in regards to the Korean conflict?
2. If General MacArthur's plan were carried out, what would be its effect?
3. What would Russia's attitude be toward American involvement on mainland China?
4. What do you see as Russia's true foreign policy motives?

Questions for General Albert C. Wedemeyer

You will question General Wedemeyer fourth in Argument #4: The Firing.

1. Do you consider President Truman's firing of General MacArthur appropriate?

Voting After the observers/participants have met and voted, the chairperson will ask each of the congressional committee members to vote. He/she may also ask each of you to comment before you vote.



Carefully examine the information in your handout. Decide what is the proper attire for your role and dress accordingly. Try your best to present yourself convincingly when you are questioning the generals.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE - 1

You will role-play Senator Wayne Morse, Republican from Oregon. While role-playing this senator, you will be a member of a congressional committee conducting an inquiry into the situation in the Far East. You will examine the facts surrounding the relief of General-of-the-Army Douglas MacArthur from his assignment in the Korean War. Your major responsibility is to question each of the four generals about one of the four argument areas. Follow the instructions provided for you below. Be certain that you understand whom you are questioning, in what argument area, and when. Consult with the chairperson, Senator Russell, if you have any questions concerning procedure.

Instructions



Consider putting these questions on 3" x 5" (or 4"x 6") note cards. You don't have to write them down verbatim. Instead, practice asking the questions from sentence fragment notes you have placed on the cards.

Questioning Follow the exact order of questioning as provided for you below. Ask the questions provided for you in each of the four argument areas. You may read them or put them in your own words. (*Doing the latter is recommended.*) Of course, if time is available, you may also ask questions that have not been provided so long as you stay within the scope of the argument area in which you are questioning. You will be allowed five to seven minutes to question each general about one argument area.

Questions for General Douglas MacArthur

You will question General MacArthur first in Argument #1: Soviet Threat.

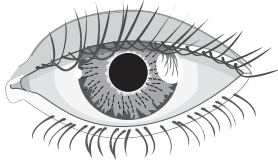
1. General, if your program were carried out (i.e., bombing China, setting up a blockade), wouldn't the Chinese communist leaders call upon the Soviet Union to come to their assistance?
2. Isn't it true that Russia couldn't sit back and permit China to be attacked because the Russians feel an independent Red China is a necessary part of Russian security?
3. Are you saying that Russia would not intervene in China?
4. Do you believe the Russians have the potential to intervene on behalf of Red China?
5. General, you honestly then discount the danger of Russia entering the war?

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE - 2

Questions for General George C. Marshall

You will question General Marshall fourth in Argument #4: The Firing.

1. Why do you think General MacArthur was fired?
2. As a general in the U.S. Army, is MacArthur guilty of violating any U.S. policy? If so, is such guilt sufficient to warrant his dismissal as commander in Korea?
3. Isn't it the responsibility of American generals to voice matters concerning national security?
4. General MacArthur was recalled in a very brisk manner. Wasn't it dangerous to replace him at this time?



Establish eye contact as you question the generals.

Questions for General Omar Bradley

You will question General Bradley third in Argument #3: War Strategy.

1. How do you view our government's policy in regards to Korea and the Korean War?
2. At the present time is there a conflict between the administration and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in regards to establishing foreign policy?
3. Do you think the present policy we are following is paying off?
4. General MacArthur has a negative view of our appeasement policy. Please comment.

Questions for General Albert C. Wedemeyer

You will question General Wedemeyer second in Argument #2: Effects on Allies.

1. General, I have two questions about our allies. First, do you feel our allies are suspicious concerning our motives in Korea? Second, can we realistically expect our allies to make a contribution toward their collective security if we get involved militarily on the Chinese mainland?

Voting After the observers/participants have met and voted, the chairperson will ask each of the congressional committee members to vote. He/she may also ask each of you to comment before you vote.



Carefully examine the information in your handout. Decide what is the proper attire for your role and dress accordingly. Try your best to present yourself convincingly when you are questioning the generals.

SENATOR LYNDON JOHNSON - 1

You will role-play Senator Lyndon Baines Johnson, Democrat from Texas. While role-playing this senator, you will be a member of a congressional committee conducting an inquiry into the situation in the Far East. You will examine the facts surrounding the relief of General-of-the-Army Douglas MacArthur from his assignment in the Korean War. Your major responsibility is to question each of the four generals about one of the four argument areas. Follow the instructions provided for you below. Be certain that you understand whom you are questioning, in what argument area, and when. Consult with the chairperson, Senator Russell, if you have any questions concerning procedure.

Instructions



Consider putting these questions on 3" x 5" (or 4" x 6") note cards. You don't have to write them down verbatim. Instead, practice asking the questions from sentence fragment notes you have placed on the cards.

Questioning Follow the exact order of questioning as provided for you below. Ask the questions provided for you in each of the four argument areas. You may read them or put them in your own words. (*Doing the latter is recommended.*) Of course, if time is available, you may also ask questions that have not been provided so long as you stay within the scope of the argument area in which you are questioning. You will be allowed five to seven minutes to question each general about one argument area.

Questions for General Douglas MacArthur

You will question General MacArthur fourth in Argument #4: The Firing.

1. Why do you think you were recalled (fired)?
2. Have you ever refused to carry out a military order given to you?
3. General, do you question the right of the president of the U.S. to dismiss you?
4. Did you view your dismissal as a threat to national security?

Questions for General George C. Marshall

You will question General Marshall third in Argument #3: War Strategy.

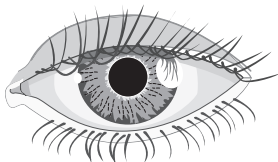
1. Isn't far more happening in Korea than just the winning or losing of a war?
2. Has it always been the government's policy to avoid the possibility of a global war?
3. If the government followed the military policy of General MacArthur, would the extension of the conflict be profitable?
4. What has the feeling been among the Joint Chiefs of Staff concerning MacArthur's military policy?

SENATOR LYNDON JOHNSON - 2

Questions for General Omar Bradley

You will question General Bradley second in Argument #2: Effects on Allies.

1. General MacArthur says two things: 1) we can count on our allies' support; and 2) if they won't support us, we can go it alone. Please comment.
2. What are the U.S. and her allies really facing in the Korean conflict?



Establish eye contact as you question the generals.

Questions for General Albert C. Wedemeyer

You will question General Wedemeyer first in Argument #1: Soviet Threat.

1. If you had been in General MacArthur's position and had been faced with the threat of Soviet intervention, what would you have recommended?
2. General MacArthur has indicated that Russia would not involve herself militarily in the Korean conflict or even indeed in China if we were fighting China. Would you comment.
3. Are you then saying that unless we proceed full scale ahead militarily, we are being used as pawns of the Soviet Union?

Voting After the observers/participants have met and voted, the chairperson will ask each of the congressional committee members to vote. He/she may also ask each of you to comment before you vote.



Carefully examine the information in your handout. Decide what is the proper attire for your role and dress accordingly. Try your best to present yourself convincingly when you are questioning the generals.

SENATOR BRIEN MacMAHON - 1

You will role-play Senator Brien MacMahon, Democrat from Connecticut. While role-playing this senator, you will be a member of a congressional committee conducting an inquiry into the situation in the Far East. You will examine the facts surrounding the relief of General-of-the-Army Douglas MacArthur from his assignment in the Korean War. Your major responsibility is to question each of the four generals about one of the four argument areas. Follow the instructions provided for you below. Be certain that you understand whom you are questioning, in what argument area, and when. Consult with the chairperson, Senator Russell, if you have any questions concerning procedure.

Instructions



Consider putting these questions on 3" x 5" (or 4" x 6") note cards. You don't have to write them down verbatim. Instead, practice asking the questions from sentence fragment notes you have placed on the cards.

Questioning Follow the exact order of questioning as provided for you below. Ask the questions provided for you in each of the four argument areas. You may read them or put them in your own words. (*Doing the latter is recommended.*) Of course, if time is available, you may also ask questions that have not been provided so long as you stay within the scope of the argument area in which you are questioning. You will be allowed five to seven minutes to question each general about one argument area.

Questions for General Douglas MacArthur

You will question General MacArthur second in Argument #2: Effect on Allies.

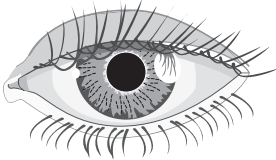
1. General, can we count on the U.N. and the support of our allies in this conflict?
2. General, some of our allies have expressed the view that waging war against China would be similar to our recent war against Japan. How can we expect our allies to take part, so soon, in another monumental struggle?
3. General, our allies fear that your policies would invite a third world war. Many of our allies are still recovering from World War II. Can we expect them to view your policies with anything but disdain?
4. Right now, my last question is in reference to your April 19 speech in which you uttered the following truism: "The issues are global and so interlocked that to consider the problem of one sector oblivious to those of another is but to court disaster for the whole." Now in the light of that truism, would you favor going ahead on our own in China, even if that brought about the loss of all support from our Atlantic allies, even if that led to the breakup of the Atlantic alliance and our defending our eastern shores; and even if that meant the loss of the right we now have to use the territory of those allies in Europe, North Africa, and the Mediterranean for air and sea bases for our strategic Air Force and naval forces?

SENATOR BRIEN MacMAHON - 2

Questions for General George C. Marshall

You will question General Marshall first in Argument #1: Soviet Threat.

1. If the Soviets decide to enter the Korean conflict, what is your opinion as to their potential power?
2. Do you think the possibility is remote or that it is very real that the Soviets might intervene?
3. What would be the effects if the Soviets intervened?



Establish eye contact as you question the generals.

Questions for General Omar Bradley

You will question General Bradley fourth in Argument #4: The Firing.

1. General, I have two questions: First, do you consider the firing of General MacArthur appropriate? Second, do the Joint Chiefs of Staff agree with you on this?

Questions for General Albert C. Wedemeyer

You will question General Wedemeyer third in Argument #3: War Strategy.

1. Do you agree with the government's policy in Korea?
2. Do you think the Truman administration treated MacArthur fairly in its foreign policy decisions in regards to Korea? Did the administration place unfair restrictions on him?

Voting After the observers/participants have met and voted, the chairperson will ask each of the congressional committee members to vote. He/she may also ask each of you to comment before you vote.



Carefully examine the information in your handout. Decide what is the proper attire for your role and dress accordingly. Try your best to present yourself convincingly when you are questioning the generals.

GENERAL DOUGLAS A. MacARTHUR - 1

You will role-play General Douglas A. MacArthur. You will be questioned by four different senators about your views concerning Soviet Russia's intentions, the war's effects on our allies, proper war strategy, and President Harry S. Truman's firing you as the nation's Far East commander.



To increase your credibility, research how General MacArthur dressed and acted. Then try your best to create such a costume, body language, and speaking style.

Question:

Why was he called "the American Caesar"?

Instructions

You should pick an aide from among your classmates to help you prepare answers to the questions you anticipate the senators will ask. The following quotations have been taken from the actual transcript of the hearing. *Study it carefully.* Then, with the help of your aide, fill out on your own paper the GENERAL'S RESPONSE MODEL OUTLINE given to you on a separate handout. *Note well:* When giving answers to the senators, speak confidently—in your own words rather than the general's exact words. If you read the general's words, you will not likely hold your audience's attention.

Argument #1: Soviet Threat (Senator Wayne Morse)

1. **If we really waged war with the Chinese communists ...?** "There are many things they (the Red Chinese) might do. They might call upon the Soviets for air assistance; they might call for other types of supplies Whether they would wish to leave the Soviet troops and forces injected into the very heart of China, I don't know, sir. There are many possibilities as to the shade of help they might desire, and (there are many) risks that they would themselves run if they placed themselves completely within the military dominion and power of the Soviet."
2. **Russian reaction to an attack on China ...?** "When this war was first started, there wasn't any special thought of Red China intervening. The entire thought of the world and anxiety of the world was that the Soviets might intervene, but as time has progressed, the conjunction of the Soviet to this campaign has receded rather than increased.

"At that time we were all looking for a big Russian mission there. We were looking for various Soviet indications of engaging in the combat.

"On the contrary, the Soviet even when we accidentally bombed one of her fields and admitted it and apologized and disciplined the officers involved and offered the Soviet compensation, they didn't even take the trouble as far as I know to collect any compensation. They dropped the issue.

GENERAL DOUGLAS A. MacARTHUR - 2



General MacArthur was a consummate actor. If you wish to radiate some of his flair, consider planning how you will dramatically speak certain answers. For example, you might emphasize the three points at



by enumerating them on your left hand's 2d, 3d, and 4th fingers, touching each finger with your right forefinger as you speak each point.

"We have gone close to their border there without, as far as I can ascertain, or my intelligence, the slightest increase of their troops on the sector between North Korea and Siberia."

3. **Would Russia intervene in China?** "Would the Soviets desire to have China become so powerful that it might even challenge the Soviets? Would it be the desire, would it be possible for the Soviets to retain a maximum degree of control if China became too powerful?"

"The general relationship between China and the Soviets has never been clearly defined. Nobody knows it except those that are intimately connected therewith, either from China or the Soviet."

"But by the logic of general strategy of the general international philosophy of the forces of the world, there is a point that might well be reached where the interests of Red China and the interests of the Red Soviets did not run parallel and that they started to traverse and become antagonistic."

4. **Russia's military potential...?** "It is not within the capacity of the Soviets to mass any great additional increment of force to launch any...attack from the Asian continent. She has no industrial complex to support her ... and it is highly unlikely that Russia would invade when faced with American naval and air superiority. Russia herself suffers from a lack of petroleum and maintenance facilities. The Soviet threat was present when we made the decision to go to the aid of the Republic of Korea. At that time, we made the decision that our superior industrial power and our large atomic stockpile... made the risk worth taking. Nothing substantially has changed...."

5. **Will Russia intervene?** "Under the present conditions, the losses we are sustaining, of Americans in Korea, cannot go on indefinitely, without bleeding this country white."

"I say that if you are trying to buy time, you are doing it in the worst way you can. You are buying time at the expense of American blood. I think that is too expensive."

"1. There is no certainty that Russia will come in."



"2. There is no certainty that she will not come in."

"3. There is no certainty that anything that happens in Korea will influence her."

"You have to take a certain degree of risk on these things, one way or another."

"All I know is that our men are going by the thousands over there, every month, and if you keep this thing going on indefinitely, nothing could happen that would be worse than that."

"Therefore, I suggest that some plan be carried out that will bring this dreadful slaughter to a definite end; that we shall not continue to buy time, as you put it, sacrificing thousands of American boys every month."

GENERAL DOUGLAS A. MacARTHUR - 3



Always answer any question forcefully. Speak as if you have an ear open to the wisdom of the ages.

(General MacArthur was an intelligent, confident man.)

Argument #2: Effects on Allies (Senator Brien MacMahon)

1. **Support from the U.N...?** “My hope would be, of course, that the United Nations would see the wisdom and utility of that course, but if they did not, I still believe that the interest of the United States being the predominant one in Korea, would require our action. Alone, if necessary. If the other nations of the world haven’t got enough sense to see where appeasement leads after the appeasement which led to the Second World War in Europe, if they can’t see exactly the road that they are following in Asia, why then we had better protect ourselves and go it alone.”
2. **Would fighting Red China now be like fighting Japan in World War II? And would our allies help?** “Now the problem with China is quite similar, only China has not got anything like the resource the Japanese Empire had.

“It would be easier to blockade them. A blockade along their coasts would be a very simple problem if all the nations of the United Nations joined in.

“The only other way in which China can get logistical support is from the Soviets. As I explained this morning, the railroad that runs from the great industrial centers of Russia, which are in European Russia, is already strained to the utmost to maintain the garrisons they have there now; to ... increase the traffic that would be necessary to place them as a predatory expeditionary army would be too great.

“There is a very definite limit to what they can give to Communist China. That, in my opinion, is why Communist China does not turn up with an adequate air force and an adequate navy. She can’t build it herself, and the Soviets can’t get it out to her.

“It is for that reason that, in my own professional opinion, Communist China’s power to wage modern war has been tremendously exaggerated; and I believe when we place the pressure, the blockade pressure, and the disruptive pressure of the air, on its distributive systems, that she would be forced to yield within a reasonable period of time.

“You must understand that in China itself, they have the greatest difficulty in merely supplying their present civil population. I don’t suppose there is a year in China that from five to ten million people don’t die either of starvation or from the results of malnutrition. It is an economy of poverty, and the minute you disrupt it, you will turn great segments of its population into disorder and discontent, and the internal strains would help to blow up her potential for war.”

GENERAL DOUGLAS A. MacARTHUR - 4

3. **Aren't your policies inviting a third world war?** "The only thing I am trying to do, senator, is to settle the thing in Korea—to bring it to a decisive end. I believe it can be brought to a decisive end without the calamity of a third world war. I believe if you let war go on indefinitely in Korea, you invite a third world war. I believe the chances of the terrible conflict that you so rightly dread—and all the rest of us dread with you—would be much more probable if we practice appeasement in one area even though we resist to our capacity all along the line.

"That is all I am saying. I am saying it with the acute consciousness of the dreadful slaughter that is going on in Korea today. If it is possible to bring it to a successful and an honorable end, I believe we should take the chance of doing so. (But) in all the discussions today there has been no proposal that has been made here as to how to end the Korean problem satisfactorily and honorably."

4. **Aren't we in danger of having to fight alone in Asia?** "Senator, the plan that I propose, I believe, would be followed by the great majority of the United Nations—perhaps by all of them. I believe that we would not be isolated; I believe all they needed was the leadership, which was necessary, and which we supplied in the beginning. I believe that, of everything that you picture there, the reverse would be accomplished by the plan that I propose."

Argument Area #3: War Strategy (Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.)

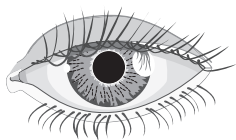
1. **Have you been opposing the Truman administration's Korean policies?** "I was operating in what I call a vacuum. I could hardly have been said to be in opposition to policies when I was not aware of them. I don't know what the policy is now. You have various potentials:

"First is that you go on and complete this war in the normal way and bring about just and honorable peace at the soonest time possible with the least loss of life by utilizing all of your potential.

"The second is that you bring this thing to an end in Korea by yielding to the enemy's terms and on his terms.

"The third is that you go on indecisively fighting with no mission for the troops except to resist and fight in this accordion fashion—up and down—which means that your cumulative losses are going to be staggering. It isn't just dust that is settling in Korea, senator; it is American blood.

"Now, my whole effort has been since Red China came in there to get some definition, military definition, of what I should do. There has been no change from the directions that I had—to clear North Korea.



Look right into the eyes of anyone questioning you. Radiate confidence!

GENERAL DOUGLAS A. MacARTHUR - 5



Be certain you are sitting up straight. Your posture should radiate the same supreme confidence anyone can hear in your strong voice.

“As far as the United Nations are concerned, as far as the Joint Chiefs of Staff are concerned, my directives have been changed and I have been informed that my main objective, which takes precedence over everything else, was the security of my forces and the protection of Japan. And I have been operating on that. Now, that is not a mission.

“Now, when you say that I have enunciated my recommendations, they are plain and clear. The only reason that you can logically say that I would disagree was the concept that something else than what I recommended was going to be done.

“Now, I don’t know what is going to be done, but I can assure you had I stayed in command, whatever was ordered to be done I would have done it to the best of my ability.”

2. **Your opinion of the administration Korean policy?** “That policy introduces a new concept into military operations—the concept of appeasement, the concept that when you use force, you can limit that force.

“The concept that I have is that when you go into war, you have exhausted all other potentialities of bringing the disagreements to an end.

“As I understand, we would apply to the military situation in Korea certain military appeasements—that is, that we would not use our Air Force to their maximum extent, only to the limited area of that Korea; that we would not use our Navy, except along the border lines of Korea. To me, that would mean that you would have a continued and indefinite extension of bloodshed, which would have limitless—a limitless end. You would not have the potentialities of destroying the enemy’s military power, and bringing the conflict to a decisive close in the minimum of time and with a minimum of loss.

“It seems to me the worst possible concept, militarily, that we would simply stay there, resisting aggression, so-called, although I do not know what you mean by ‘resisting aggression.’ The very term of ‘resisting aggression,’ it seems to me that you destroy the potentialities of the aggressor to continually hit you. If that is the concept of a continued and indefinite campaign in Korea, with no definite purpose of stopping it until the enemy gets tired or you yield to his terms, I think that introduces into the military sphere a political control such as I have never known in my life or have ever studied.”

3. **Would using Nationalist Chinese troops invite World War III?**

“I do say unhesitatingly that with the power that we could bring against her with our air and Navy, with the assistance of the ground forces that the Nationalists might summon, that I believe we can force Red China to stop her aggression in Korea, which is the only objective as far as I see it, that we would have in such a conflict.

GENERAL DOUGLAS A. MacARTHUR - 6



As a general, MacArthur had an enviable record of losing few men in battle. He was a master at minimizing losses.

Therefore, be as sincere as possible as you speak about your desire to keep the loss of American lives as low as possible.

You expect to be believed!

“Now we speak of American forces being sucked into China, ground forces. I invite your attention to the fact that hundreds of thousands of American ground forces have already been committed in Korea, and if you keep on this indecisive fighting, hundreds, thousands or more of them will go there.

“Our losses already, the battle casualties, are approaching 65,000. This conflict in Korea has already lasted almost as long as General Eisenhower’s decisive campaign which brought the European war to an end. And yet the only program that I have been able to hear is that we shall indecisively go on resisting aggression, whatever that may mean. And if you do, you are going to have thousands and thousands and thousands of American lives that will fall, and in my own opinion events finally will catch up with you, so that you will have to stop it in some way; and then the great question is—Where does the responsibility of that blood rest?

“This I am quite sure—It is not going to rest on my shoulders.

“Senator, if you use the Chinese forces on Formosa for a diversionary effect and force the enemy to operate on another front, you will unquestionably diminish the pressure upon our forces in Korea, and thereby you will save American blood and American efforts.”

4. **The difference between military and political situations ...?** “It is quite impossible to draw a line of differentiation and say this is a political and this is a military situation. The American government should have such coordination so that the political and military are in coordination.

“The general definition which for many decades has been accepted was that war was the ultimate process of politics; that when all other political means failed, you then go to force; and when you do that ... the minute you reach the killing stage (the military is in control). A theater commander in any campaign, is not merely limited to the handling of his troops; he commands that whole area politically, economically, and militarily. You have got to trust at that stage of the game when politics fails, and the military takes over; you must trust the military, or otherwise you will have the system that the Soviets once employed of the political commissar, who would run the military as well as the politics of the country.

“Now, the differentiation that exists between the political features and the military features I am not able to discuss because I have not been here in Washington. Others will be able to tell you more about that than I, but I do unquestionably state that when men become locked in battle, that there should be no artifice under the name of politics which should handicap your own men, decrease their chances for winning, and increase their losses.”

GENERAL DOUGLAS A. MacARTHUR - 7



Think how wonderful it would be if you did not have to bring these background sheets to the re-created Senate hearing. Imagine the impact you could have if you had studied them well enough in advance so that you could answer the questions without referring to what is written here—with this exception... Any letters or written orders you received you should have copied on official looking paper so that you can read them dramatically whenever it is appropriate.

5. **“Half war”... “whole war”...?** “Now, war never before in the world has been applied in a piecemeal way, so that you make half war and not whole war.

“China is using the maximum of her force against us ... we are not using the maximum of ours against her in reply. The result is—we do not even use, to the maximum, the forces at our disposal ... the result is that for every percentage you take away in the use of the Air (Force) and the Navy, you add a percentage to the dead American infantrymen.

“It may seem emotional for me to say that, but I happen to be the man that had to send them into it. The blood, to some extent, would rest on me; and with other objectives, I believe I could stop them. It seems terrible to me that we should not attempt something.

“The inertia that exists. There is no policy—there is nothing, I tell you, no plan, or anything.

“When you say, merely, ‘We are going to continue to fight aggression,’ that is not what the enemy is fighting for. The enemy is fighting for a very definite purpose—to destroy our forces in Korea. We constantly, every day, run that risk, without the potential of defeating him, and stopping him—to come again. He attacks today. We resist it. We fall back. We form a new line, and we surge back. Then, he is right back, within a week, maybe, up to the battlefield with his inexhaustible supply of manpower. He brings in another hundred thousand, or another half-million men, and tosses them at these troops constantly.

“That is a new concept in war. That is not war—that is appeasement.”

Argument #4: The Firing (Senator Lyndon Johnson)

1. **Reasons why you were fired ...?** “The reason that was given was that it was felt that I could not give my complete support to the policies of the United States and of the United Nations. There was no necessity to give any reason.

“But it seems to me to be completely invalid. I have not carried out every directive that I have ever received, but what I was trying to do was find out what the directives were to be for the future.”

2. **Have you disregarded military orders?** “Senator, I have been a soldier for 52 years. I have in that time, to the best of my ability, carried out every order that was ever given me. No more subordinate soldier has ever worn the American uniform.

“I would repudiate my concept that I wouldn’t carry out any order that was given me. If you mean to say that the orders I have carried out I was in agreement with, that is a different matter. Many of the orders that I have received, I have disagreed with them,

GENERAL DOUGLAS A. MacARTHUR - 8

both their wisdom and their judgment; but that did not affect in the slightest degree my implementing them to the very best and maximum of my ability.

“Any insinuation by anyone, however high his office, that I have ever in any way failed, to the level of my ability, to carry out my instructions, is completely unworthy and unwarranted.”

3. **Do you question a president’s right to dismiss a general?** “Not in the slightest. The authority of the president to assign officers or to reassign them is complete and absolute. He does not have to give any reasons (for his actions). That is inherent in our system.”
4. **Was your dismissal a threat to national security?** “Being summarily relieved made it impossible to carry out directives that I was working on at the moment. I had to turn them over to my successor, an admirable officer in every respect, General Ridgway, who was 350 miles away on the Korean front.

“I don’t think there is any question that the interest of the United States was jeopardized in such a summary mode of turning over great responsibilities which involve the security of the country.”



**General
Douglas
MacArthur**

Never forget:
You are a
five-star
general
who is an
authentic
American
hero!



GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL - 1

You will role-play General George C. Marshall. You will be questioned by four different senators about your views concerning Soviet Russia's intentions, the war's effects on our allies, proper war strategy, and the firing of General Douglas MacArthur, our nation's Far East commander.

Instructions

You should pick an aide from among your classmates to help you prepare answers to the questions you anticipate the senators will ask. The following quotations have been taken from the actual transcript of the hearing. *Study these pages carefully.* Then, with the help of your aide, fill out on your own paper the GENERAL'S RESPONSE MODEL OUTLINE provided for you on a separate handout.



When giving answers to the senators, speak confidently—in your own words rather than the general's exact words. If you read the general's words, you will not likely hold your audience's attention.

Argument #1: Soviet Threat (Senator Brien MacMahon)

1. **The Soviets ... how serious a military threat ...?** “From the information estimates that I have seen, it would be a very serious matter, because they have, according to estimates that I have seen, a considerable force—I have forgotten exactly how many thousand.”
2. **Will the Russians intervene in the Korean War?** “I think it is a very real possibility, and like all other matters pertaining to the Soviet government, the decision is of a few men and can be an instant decision whenever they choose to make it. They may make it without any reference to a specific event; and again they may find themselves imperiled as they feel it, in their future development of communism in the world, and therefore take action to reduce that peril.”
3. **The effects of Russian entry into the Korean War ...?** “Of course that would immediately involve the defense of Japan, Hokkaido in particular, attacks on our air all over Japan, all over Korea, at the bases, probably Okinawa, and we couldn't accept that without the maximum retaliation on our part, which inevitably means a world war, which means unlimited losses for a considerable period of time.”

GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL - 2



Go to a library and find a picture of Marshall. He made a magnificent contribution to the Allies' victory during World War II. Can you create at least some of a military costume such as he wore?

See if you can find out more about this famous general. It will help you to present his statements to the senators. (He was a particular hero of President Truman, who held him in the highest regard and appointed him his secretary of state.)

How do you suppose he walked and talked?

Argument #2: Effects on Allies (Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.)

1. **The effect of MacArthur's statements on our allies...?** "By his public statements he had created a feeling of great uneasiness among our allies, as to the consequent results from his proposals.
"He was creating a feeling of uncertainty with our allies as to who was directing these affairs—the president or someone else.... When he proposed the utilization of the Chinese Nationalist troops from Formosa, he was setting up a very serious consideration, entirely remote from the quality of those troops, which is a matter that the Chiefs of Staff can talk to you more definitely in regard to than I can, because the employment of Chinese Nationalist troops in Korea set up a possible political consequence of great importance to those allies."
2. **Were his statements hurting our relationship with our Allies?** "When you create the feeling among your allies that you are on the verge of doing something which they feel is of great misfortune to them and a hazard to them, you are now involved in a question of policy, and the president of the United States by the Constitution is the only one who should interpret that."
3. **Did our allies then feel uneasy because of the general and the president's policy disagreement?** "My understanding was that it created a very serious situation with our allies, along the line of their uncertainty as to just how we were proceeding; the president bringing something to their attention, and gauging their action to find agreement with him, and before that could be accomplished, the leader in the field coming forward with a proposition which terminates that endeavor of the chief executive of the United States, or the president, to handle the matter. So, apparently we had two voices speaking at the same time."

Argument #3: War Strategy (Senator Lyndon Johnson)

1. **Is what's happening in Korea more than a war?** "In the last five years the United States has been engaged in a unique struggle against communist imperialism and aggression. This for us is an unprecedented situation and has called for unprecedented measures to deal with it. I want to recite these because this is part and parcel to them.
"For the last five years our supreme policy has been to curb communist aggression and, if possible, to avoid another world war in doing so. The execution of this policy has required extraordinary patience, firmness, and determination in meeting and helping our allies to meet these challenges."

GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL - 3



Note the illustration in the left margin of page 29. You must radiate at all times your conviction that a general follows orders from his commander-in-chief: that is, the president of the United States.

2. **Our government's policy ... ?** "Year by year the United States has opposed aggressions with courage and poise, and in each instance the threats were curbed or overcome without involving this government in a total war.

"The struggle between the democracies and the communist powers is a continuing one. It has already lasted over five years, and it may last much longer.

"There can be, I think, no quick and decisive solution to this global struggle short of resorting to another world war. The cost of such a conflict is beyond calculation. It is, therefore, our policy to contain communist aggression in different areas without resorting to total war, if that be possible to avoid.

"This policy may seem costly, if maintained over a period of years, but these costs would not be comparable at all to what happens if we get involved in what you might call an atomic war.

"Korea is only the latest challenger in this long, hard, continuing world-wide struggle. We are applying there the same policy that has been successfully applied in the attempted aggressions that preceded it elsewhere in the world.

"Each incident has required different military and diplomatic efforts on our part to cope with the situations as they develop, in one area or another. All of them have been costly, but Korea is the most costly of all, for it has involved the lives of our American troops.

"Nevertheless, even though the conditions have been different, our policy has been uniform in the following respects: We have spurned appeasement. We have brought to bear whatever has been necessary, in money and manpower, to curb the aggressor; and we have sought in every possible way to avoid a third world war."

3. **Would MacArthur's extension of the conflict be profitable?** "I think the extension of the conflict would not be profitable. I don't quite see how it could bring us to a quick, and what you might call, a victorious conclusion for a number of reasons.

"China is a vast country and is a country where human life is not put on the same standard of values that we have, and losses that would occur from bombings and things like that they can wipe off the slate very easily where we could not.

"(When you bomb Chinese cities) I don't think you accomplish a great deal. The Japanese had a long trial of that and had troops all through China, but they were not able to take over the country."

4. **The Joint Chiefs of Staff's feelings about MacArthur's military policy ...?** "The feeling has been that an extension of the present war, under the terms proposed by General MacArthur, would ... hazard the development of a very enlarged war, probably a world war."

GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL - 4

Argument #4: The Firing (Senator Wayne Morse)



You are a
career
soldier
with
profound
respect
for the
Constitution
and its
insistence
upon
civilian
control
of the
military.

1. **Why was General MacArthur fired?** “He is unable to give his wholehearted support to the policies of the United States government and of the United Nations in matters pertaining to his official duties.

“The policies involved here related to the conduct of the operations in Korea, our relations with the United Nations in regards to the responsibility of the chief executive of this country as the commander of those units, the resolutions of the United Nations in relation to the matters in Korea, over which General MacArthur was the United Nations commander.”

2. **Did MacArthur violate U.S. policy?** “He did not violate the policy by military action, but he took issue with the policy before the world. (Thus, he) created a situation where apparently we had two voices speaking for this country because he was the supreme commander of those troops of those various nations involved.”
3. **Can’t American generals speak out on matters related to national security?** “It is their responsibility to determine where the main threat to our security lies, where we must fight holding actions, and where and how we must gain time to grow stronger. On the other hand, the responsibilities and the courses of action assigned to a theater commander necessarily apply to his own immediate area of responsibility. It is completely understandable and, in fact, at times commendable, that a theater commander should become so wholly wrapped up in his own aims and responsibilities that some of the directives received by him from higher authority are not those that he would have written for himself. There is nothing new about this sort of thing in our military history. What is new, and what has brought about the necessity for General MacArthur’s removal, is the wholly unprecedented situation of a local theater commander publicly expressing his displeasure at and his disagreement with the foreign and military policy of the United States.

“It became apparent that General MacArthur had grown so far out of sympathy with the established policies of the United States that there was grave doubt as to whether he could any longer be permitted to exercise the authority in making decisions that normal command functions would assign to a theater commander. In this situation, there was no other recourse but to relieve him.”

4. **Was MacArthur removed too quickly?** “The necessity for his immediate relief I think was felt by all concerned. The issue was getting too complicated to go on, considering the tremendous importance of the events in progress.”

GENERAL OMAR BRADLEY - 1



Go to a library and find a picture of Bradley. He was a colorful military leader during World War II. He was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1949 to 1953. Can you create at least some part of a military costume such as he wore?

See if you can find out more about Bradley. It will increase your confidence about how you might role-play this famous general. For example, how do you suppose he walked and talked?

Finally, a symbol of the respect he has in our history is found on the bottom of page 34 of this handout.

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Pick an aide from among your classmates to help you prepare answers to the questions you anticipate the senators will ask. The following quotations have been taken from the actual transcript of the hearing. *Study it carefully.* Then, with the help of your aide, fill out on your own paper the GENERAL'S RESPONSE MODEL OUTLINE provided for you on a separate handout.

Argument #1: Soviet Threat (Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.)

1. **Is Russia a threat in the Korean War?** "As the president has indicated, every decision must be made in connection with the Korean conflict. One aim must be kept in mind: to prevent a third world war and the terrible destruction it would bring to the civilized world. This means that we should not do anything that would provide an excuse to the Soviets to plunge the free nations into full scale all-out war.
"The points that appeared most critical were Berlin, West Germany, Indo-china, Yugoslavia, and Iran. In each of these areas a minor incident could easily be created which would give the Russians an excuse for open intervention ... and the Kremlin might not be bluffing and might have decided that the time was in fact ripe for a general war with the U.S."
2. **The effect of MacArthur's plan...?** "MacArthur's proposed military strategy to bomb China and blockade her ports and invite Chinese Nationalist assaults on the mainland would offer the Kremlin just the excuse they needed to intervene in the conflict."
3. **Russia's attitude toward American war on the Chinese mainland?** "Nothing would delight the Kremlin more than the enlargement of the war in Korea to include Red China It would necessarily tie down additional forces, especially our sea power and air power, while the Soviet Union would not be obliged to put a single man into the conflict A 'limited war' with Red China would increase the risk we are taking by engaging too much of our power in an area that is not the critical strategic prize. Red China is not the powerful nation seeking to dominate the world. *MacArthur's military strategy would involve us in the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, with the wrong enemy.*"

GENERAL OMAR BRADLEY - 2



When giving answers to the senators, speak confidently—in your own words rather than the general's exact words. If you read the general's words, you will not likely hold your audience's attention.

4. **Russia's true foreign policy motives?** "The president himself has said that he would never allow himself to forget that America's principal enemies are sitting in the Kremlin, or that we could not afford to squander our reawakening strength as long as that of the enemy was not committed in the field but only pulling the strings behind the scenes. Russia is the powerful nation seeking to dominate the world."

Argument #2: Effects on Allies (Senator Lyndon Johnson)

1. **Can we count on our allies ... can we go it alone?** "Many times the international policy considerations, including the views of our allies, are also considered and in some instances modify the course of our actions. In other instances, even after the international considerations and the views of our allies have been considered, the proposed military strategy has not been altered.

"Our over-all policy has been one of steadfast patience and determination in opposing communist aggression without provoking unnecessarily a total war.

"There are many critics who have been impatient with this strategy and who would like to call for a 'showdown.' From a purely military viewpoint, this is not desirable. We are not in the best military position to seek a showdown, even if it were the nation's desire to forfeit the chances for peace by precipitating a total war.

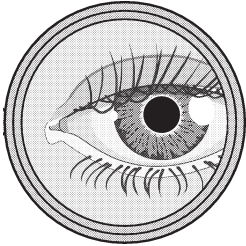
"Undoubtedly, this statement will be misconstrued by some critics who will say, 'Why are the Joint Chiefs of Staff advertising the fact that we are not militarily in a position to have a showdown?'

"I can assure those critics that with the methods we must pursue in a democracy in order to support a military establishment—including this present investigation of our strategy in the Far East—our capabilities are not unknown to the communists."

2. **What are the U.S. and her allies really facing in the Korean conflict?** "We must understand—as we conduct our foreign affairs and our military affairs—that while power and nationalism prevail, it's up to us to gain strength through cooperative efforts with other nations which have common ideals and objectives with our own. At the same time, we must create and maintain the power essential to persuasion and to our own security in such a world. We must understand the role, the nature, and the limitations of this power if we are to exercise it wisely.

"One of the great power potentials of this world is the United States of America and her allies. The other great power in this world is Soviet Russia and her satellites. As much as we desire peace, we must realize that we have two centers of power supporting opposing ideologies.

GENERAL OMAR BRADLEY - 3



*Look the senators
right in the eye as
you answer them.*

“From a global viewpoint—and with the security of our nation of prime importance—our military mission is to support a policy of preventing communism from gaining the manpower, the resources, the raw material and the industrial capacity essential to world domination. If Soviet Russia ever controls the entire Eurasian land mass, then the Soviet-satellite imperialism may have the broad base upon which to build the military power to rule the world.

“Three times in the past five years the Kremlin-inspired imperialism has been thwarted by direct action. In Berlin, Greece, and Korea the free nations have opposed communist aggression with a different type of action. But each time the power of the United States has been called upon and we have become involved. Each incident has cost us money, resources, and some lives. But in each instance we have prevented the domination of one more area and the absorption of another source of manpower, raw materials, and resources.”

Argument Area #3: War Strategy (Senator Wayne Morse)

1. **Your opinion of American policy in Korea?** “Korea, in spite of the importance of the engagement, must be looked upon with proper perspective. It is just one engagement, just one phase of this battle that we are having with the other power center in the world which opposes us and all we stand for. For five years this ‘guerrilla diplomacy’ has been going on. In each of the actions in which we have participated to oppose this gangster conduct we have risked World War III. But each time we have used methods short of total war. As costly as Berlin and Greece and Korea may be, they are less expensive than the vast destruction which would be inflicted upon all sides if a total war were to be precipitated.

“I am under no illusion that our present strategy of using means short of total war to achieve our ends and oppose communism is a guarantee that a world war will not be thrust upon us. But a policy of patience and determination without provoking world war, while we improve our military power, is one which we believe we must continue to follow.”

2. **Any conflict between the president and the Joint Chiefs of Staff?** “Some critics have not hesitated to state that the policy our government is following, and its included strategy, is not that which has been recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Statements have been made that the president as Commander in Chief, and the secretary of state and the secretary of defense, have a policy all their own, and that the Joint Chiefs of Staff have been overridden. This is just not so.

“The Joint Chiefs of Staff have continually given their considered

GENERAL OMAR BRADLEY - 4



General Bradley did not fulminate and pontificate. He tended to speak quietly, but there was power in what he said because his integrity radiated from his physical presence.

How could you strive to achieve this?

Hmmmm?

opinion—always from a military point of view—concerning our global capabilities and responsibilities and have recommended our present strategy in and for Korea. This has been the course of action which the secretary of defense and the commander in chief have adopted as far as practicable.”

3. **Is the present policy working?** “I think our global strategy is paying off, and I see no reason to let impatience alter it in the Far East. Certainly the course of action we are pursuing has avoided a total war which could only bring death and destruction to millions of Americans, both in the United States and on the battlefield. Our present course of action has at the same time won us respect and admiration everywhere in the world, both inside and outside the Iron Curtain.”
4. **What about “appeasement”?** “From a military viewpoint, appeasement occurs when you give up something which is rightfully free to an aggressor without putting up a struggle, or making him pay a price. Forsaking Korea—withdrawing from the fight unless we are forced out—would be an appeasement to aggression. Refusing to enlarge the quarrel to the point where our global capabilities are diminished, is certainly not appeasement. It is a militarily sound course of action under the present circumstances.

“It is my sincere hope that these hearings will encourage us as a nation to follow a steadfast and determined course of action in this world, which would deny any free nation to Soviet imperialism, and at the same time preserve the peace for which so many men died in World War I, World War II, and in Greece, Indo-China, Malaysia, and Korea.”

Argument #4: The Firing (Senator Brien MacMahon)

1. **Was MacArthur’s firing “appropriate,” and do the Joint Chiefs agree with your opinion?** “At the very outset, I want to make it clear that I would not say anything to discredit the long and illustrious career of General Douglas MacArthur. We may have different views on certain aspects of our government’s military policy, but that is not unusual.

“As chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I am one of the military advisers to the president, the secretary of defense, and the National Security Council. I pass on to them the collective advice and recommendations of the Joint Chiefs.

“When the Joint Chiefs of Staff express their opinion on a subject, it is from the military point of view, and is given with a full realization that considerations other than military may be overriding in making the final decision. The relative importance of the military aspect varies. In some cases it is greatly overshadowed

GENERAL OMAR BRADLEY - 5

by other considerations. In other cases, the military aspects may be the decisive ones.

“When all of these aspects are considered, the government’s policy is determined. As military men we abide by the decision.

“The Joint Chiefs of Staff believe that these same measures do increase the risk of global war and that such a risk should not be taken unnecessarily. At the same time we recognize the military advantages that might accrue to the United Nations’ position in Korea and to the United States’ position in the Far East by these measures. While a field commander very properly estimates his needs from the viewpoint of operations in his own theater or sphere of action, those responsible for higher direction must necessarily base their actions on broader aspects, and on the needs, actual or prospective, of several theaters.

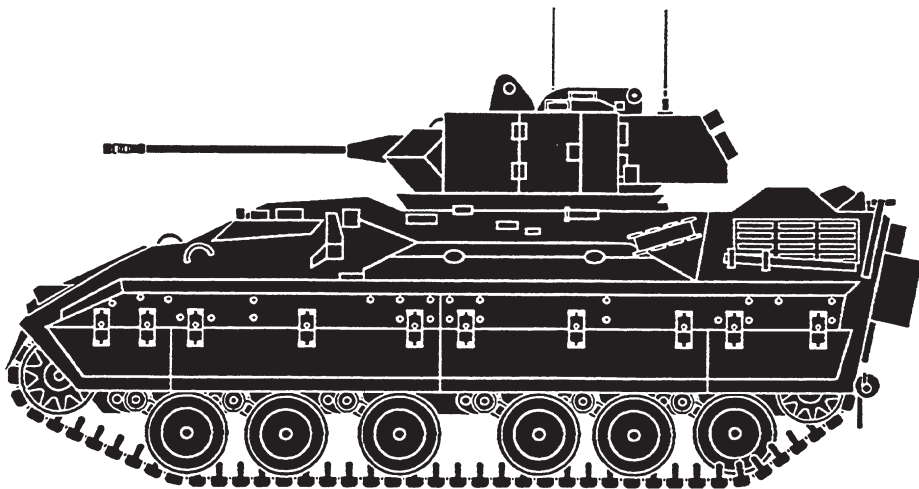
“The Joint Chiefs of Staff, in view of their global responsibilities and their perspective with respect to the world-wide strategic situation, are in a better position than is any single theater commander to assess the risk of general war. Moreover, the Joint Chiefs of Staff are best able to judge our own military resources with which to meet that risk.

“General MacArthur has stated that there are certain additional measures which can and should be taken. By doing so and usurping the powers of the president and the Joint Chiefs, General MacArthur has viewed himself as a higher authority and risks the threat of global war. He, or any general, upon reaching this point should be replaced by an officer more in unison with the policy of the government.”



Speak with quiet sincerity here, for you are convinced that President Truman was correct in his action. And always recognize that the senators will carefully consider what you say. Why?

Note the military vehicle at the right. The M2 tank, which honors you with its name, was used in the war in the Persian Gulf. The fact that it was named after you indicates the respect your military mind has in the annals of American military history.



M2 Bradley

GENERAL ALBERT C. WEDEMEYER - 1

You will role-play General Albert C. Wedemeyer. You will be questioned by four different senators about your views concerning Soviet Russia's intentions, the war's effects on our allies, proper war strategy, and the firing of General Douglas MacArthur, our nation's Far East commander.

Instructions

Pick an aide from among your classmates to help you prepare answers to the questions you anticipate the senators will ask. The following quotations have been taken from the actual transcript of the hearing. *Study them carefully.* Then, with the help of your aide, fill out on your own paper the GENERAL'S RESPONSE MODEL OUTLINE provided for you on a separate handout.



When giving answers to the senators, speak confidently—in your own words rather than the general's exact words. If you read the general's words, you will not likely hold your audience's attention.

Argument #1: Soviet Threat (Senator Lyndon Johnson)

1. **If you had been in General MacArthur's position ...?** "First, I would have recommended that we take affirmative action, because in my judgment we have got to do something affirmative against the Soviets. We have got to indicate to them our determination, and words are not enough. We have got to take action. There would have to be—there must be deeds."
2. **The Russian threat ...?** "There are lots of potential powder kegs around the periphery of Soviet Russia. They would be happy to fuse those powder kegs, to detonate them, and to cause us Americans to fill them with the best manhood that we have got. That is exactly their primary purpose, in my judgment, to create vacuums that we Americans must fill with our most precious commodity, American manhood, and with American materials, and they are going to wreck us if they can economically, and they are going to embarrass us psychologically.

"In other words, in my judgment, it is their third team opposing our first team, and their third team at times has defeated us in battle, in combat, and at least it has accomplished a stalemate.

"If, as the newspapers indicate, we effect a truce very shortly with Soviet Russia or with their satellites, at the thirty-eighth parallel, that will be tantamount to a defeat for us psychologically. Our first team was unable to defeat successfully the third team of the Soviets."

GENERAL ALBERT C. WEDEMEYER - 2



Go to a library and find a picture of Wedemeyer. He was a colorful military leader during World War II. Can you create at least some of a military costume such as he wore?

See if your research tells you more about Wedemeyer. Anything you find will likely increase your confidence about how you might role-play this part.

For example, how do you suppose he spoke and walked?

3. **Are we pawns of the Russians?** “My fear is that we will continue to fight under conditions at times and at places of the Soviets’ choosing, and that kind of strategy will ruin us. “When I was in charge of strategy and policy in the Department of the Army and had considerable knowledge about developments at home and abroad, I continually worked to avoid just such development in our strategy.”

Argument #2: Effects on Allies (Senator Wayne Morse)

1. **Are our allies suspicious of our motives in Korea...and will they help us if we fight the Chinese communists on the Chinese mainland?** “There is the motive for the atmosphere of suspicion, and we have got to eliminate that, senator....We have really got to begin to trust each other in this business.

“Now you are a factual person and you want evidence. You want the British to prove their worthiness of our trust. I think they are the finest ally we have, sir.

“May I say this? If we try to criticize continuously these other peoples, if we don’t approach this in an affirmative way but instead continue to approach it in a negative way—I am talking about the international developments—in my judgment we are never going to get collective security in the world for free peoples.

“Integrity has to permeate everything we do, and we must make no commitments that we can’t fill. But we must also require these other people to make a proportionate contribution to collective security. And we’re not doing that, at the present time, in my judgment.”

Argument #3: War Strategy (Senator Brien MacMahon)

1. **Your feelings about our government’s Korean policy ...?** “I think our government was absolutely correct in taking affirmative steps against the advance of communism. We had to do it some place, and the time was already overdue, sir. Since I believe we should have done it earlier, I therefore believe the initial move was correct. Now, the manner of how we are doing it I take issue with.”
2. **How the Truman administration treated MacArthur...?** “Once a decision is reached and a theater commander is given a mission, that mission should be given no restrictions whatsoever in carrying out his mission, sir. And as I see it, the refusal to permit General MacArthur to bomb bases where the enemy was gathering together his strength to destroy our bases, destroy our boys, to kill our men, in my judgment that is an unfair restriction and an

GENERAL ALBERT C. WEDEMEYER - 3

unrealistic approach to a military and strategic problem. No commander should be put in the field and given such a mission.

“If it is determined that the bombing of those fields will involve another country and if politically or diplomatically we do not want to do that, then the mission should be changed.

“General MacArthur should have been told, ‘We no longer have that mission which requires you to destroy all these North Korean forces and to restore Korea to democratic processes.

“They should have changed his mission. But as long as his mission required him to create conditions in Korea where, as I understand it, we would get a government that is compatible with ours and other free-country governments in the world, and wherein conditions are to be created whereby those people can determine how and by whom they are to be governed without intimidation, then our government should support him to the hilt, and there should be no restriction whatsoever to the employment of his forces. *The lives of our men are involved.*

“And I personally think that he should have been authorized to bomb bases and to take any measures necessary to accomplish his mission.”

Argument #4: The Firing (Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.)



*Speak slowly and
emphatically while
making this final point.*

1. **The appropriateness of firing General MacArthur?** “The U.S. policy at the time was a hold action. Hundreds of lives were daily being wasted while no visible gain was being achieved. I agree with General MacArthur. War’s very objective is victory, not prolonged indecision. In war there is no substitute for victory. We cannot continue to fight a half war. War, by its very definition, is the end you reach when you have exhausted all other possibilities. There can be no victory in the course outlined by the president. The firing of General MacArthur is not only inappropriate; it also opens the door to future cold wars whose outcomes can only continue this pattern of indecision.”

GENERAL'S RESPONSE MODEL OUTLINE

Instructions Prepare the following Response Outline in anticipation of the hearing. Normally put down only *key words* from the text of your handout since reading every word would take too long and would bore your listeners. However, you may quote what you believe to be particularly forceful. Make sure you and your aide understand and clearly give the actual point of view of the general. *Note: The number of capital letter sections will depend on the number in the text. Add or subtract sections as necessary.*

General's Response Outline

- I. Soviet threat
 - A. GS (Put a **G**eneral **S**tatement of opinion here.)
 - 1. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
 - 2. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
 - B. GS (Put a **G**eneral **S**tatement of opinion here.)
 - 1. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
 - 2. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
- II. Effects on Allies
 - A. GS (Put a **G**eneral **S**tatement of opinion here.)
 - 1. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
 - 2. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
 - B. GS (Put a **G**eneral **S**tatement of opinion here.)
 - 1. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
 - 2. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
- III. War Strategy
 - A. GS (Put a **G**eneral **S**tatement of opinion here.)
 - 1. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
 - 2. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
 - B. GS (Put a **G**eneral **S**tatement of opinion here.)
 - 1. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
 - 2. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
- IV. The Firing
 - A. GS (Put a **G**eneral **S**tatement of opinion here.)
 - 1. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
 - 2. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
 - B. GS (Put a **G**eneral **S**tatement of opinion here.)
 - 1. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)
 - 2. SD (Put a **S**pecific **D**etail here.)

UNIT TEST

Directions: Either on your own paper or in the spaces provided, write your answers to Part 1. Complete Parts 2 and 3 on your own paper.

Part 1: True-False

Mark a **+** for **true** statements; a **0** for **false** statements.

- _____ 1. During the hearings, general after general testified in MacArthur's favor.
- _____ 2. President Truman's firing of General MacArthur was a bold act, testing the powers of the civilian presidency over the military.
- _____ 3. The congressional committee was firm in its opinion that MacArthur's political/military point of view was correct.
- _____ 4. President Truman gave important information to the committee during his nine days of testimony.
- _____ 5. No one really ever won the Korean war.
- _____ 6. Congress later returned MacArthur to his command in Korea.
- _____ 7. MacArthur constantly contended during the hearings that he had never been insubordinate.
- _____ 8. Truman was a popular president, especially among Republican members of Congress.
- _____ 9. President Truman never regretted his firing MacArthur; he felt he should have done it much earlier than he did.
- _____ 10. The administration believed that MacArthur's presence in Korea risked the outbreak of World War III.

Part 2: Short answers

- 1. You heard powerful testimony *supporting* General MacArthur. List the three strongest arguments you can think of why General MacArthur should not have been fired.
- 2. You heard powerful testimony *upholding* President Truman's decision to fire General MacArthur. List the three strongest arguments you can think of why General MacArthur should have been fired.

Part 3: Essay questions

Depending upon your teacher's directions, write short or long answers to one or more of the following questions.

- 1. Explain why one set of arguments (testimony)—those supporting General MacArthur or those supporting President Truman—seemed stronger to you.
- 2. Describe the high points of the senators' questioning during the hearing. Then give your opinion as to whether it was really investigating anything in regards to General MacArthur's firing. Or was it simply spinning its wheels in a meaningless show of democratic process?
- 3. Was either adversary really right in this situation? Were both wrong? For example, was MacArthur wrong in asserting his political/military point of view? And was President Truman wrong in firing General MacArthur because he would not go along with his foreign policy point of view?

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MacARTHUR AND THE KOREAN WAR

A re-creation of a Senate hearing, examining whether or not President Truman was justified in firing General MacArthur

PURPOSE

During the next classroom hours you will participate in a re-creation of history. You will take an active role in the events surrounding President Harry S. Truman's dismissal of five-star General-of-the-Army Douglas A. MacArthur during the Korean War. You will encounter the far-reaching disputes in the president's civilian control over the military as it affects the question of foreign policy itself. While role-playing either a senator, an upper-level military officer, or an on-site observer/participant, you will become involved in the swift rush of events that saw Congress deal with the question of General MacArthur's dismissal.

BACKGROUND ESSAY

History-making confrontation An almost classic drama took shape in the events leading up to and following the firing of General Douglas MacArthur. It became a confrontation between a president of the United States, Harry S. Truman, and a five-star general and military hero, Douglas A. MacArthur. The confrontation took on national importance as the president, the chief of state, was forced to place global considerations over General MacArthur's specific military objectives. President Truman struggled to keep control over the situation while General MacArthur used subtle political pressure to enhance his point of view. Not since President Abraham Lincoln's firing of General George B. McClellan on March 11, 1862, had such an event taken place. As the pulse of the nation quickened at the news of MacArthur's dismissal, the United States Senate formed a committee to deal with the situation. The scene was set and the stage readied in the Senate hearing room. An exciting drama then followed.

MacArthur—the legend General Douglas A. MacArthur was more than just a military hero. Many viewed him as a living legend. After his term as Army chief of staff from 1930 to 1935, MacArthur retired to the Philippines and assumed the role of field marshal of its armed forces. In 1941 when the threat of a Pacific war put pressure on the U.S., MacArthur was recalled to active duty.

The Japanese war machine hit MacArthur's forces hard in the Philippines in 1942, forcing him to withdraw to Australia. As supreme allied commander of the South Pacific, MacArthur vowed "I shall return." He planned an island-hopping campaign leading to the triumphant recapture of the Philippines in 1944-45. MacArthur's success was greatly publicized by American newsreels as a grateful America paid homage to a true military genius and hero. Few persons remained untouched by MacArthur's accomplishments.

Accepted Japanese surrender On August 14, 1945, President Truman made General MacArthur supreme commander for the Allied Powers. As supreme commander, MacArthur accepted the Japanese surrender on board the battleship *Missouri* on September 2, 1945. Newsreels and newspapers throughout the country captured the event which practically all Americans watched or read.

General MacArthur then led the occupation forces into Japan. In his role as chief administrator of the military government in Japan, he took on the task of making a democracy out of a feudal society. The Japanese feared harsh treatment by MacArthur. Instead they were faced with a calm, fair, and firm



**Question
for you to
consider:**

*What went
through
President
Truman's
mind while he
was making
his decision
whether or
not to fire
such a
popular
general?*

military governor. MacArthur's governmental, educational, and industrial reforms soon earned him the respect of the Japanese people. His success was applauded throughout the world as he introduced democracy into the island nation of Japan.

General MacArthur, then, was a hero who millions knew and respected. When the news broke that President Truman had dismissed General MacArthur, millions of Americans, as well as people throughout the world, were in a state of shock and disbelief.

Communists threaten Korea In 1950 the world, not yet calmed from the horrors of World War II (1939-1945), was suddenly threatened by the invasion of South Korea by North Korean communist armies. The United Nations quickly met and authorized the U.S. to establish an organized force to repel the communists. General MacArthur was called upon to become the United Nations' commander in Korea.

MacArthur had been operating in Japan with virtual independence from Washington, D.C. This independence led to conflict with President Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson at the very onset of the Korean War. MacArthur's independent spirit would force him into a virtual confrontation with Truman and would lead ultimately to his dismissal.

Politics of Korea In Korea, the political sides were clearly drawn: North Korean communists against South Korean non-communists. Mainland China, being a communist government, was on the verge of entering the war on the side of the North Korean communists. Recognizing this threat, Chiang Kai-Shek, the leader of the non-communist Chinese on Formosa, offered to send 33,000 men to the U.N. command to help the South Korean non-communists.

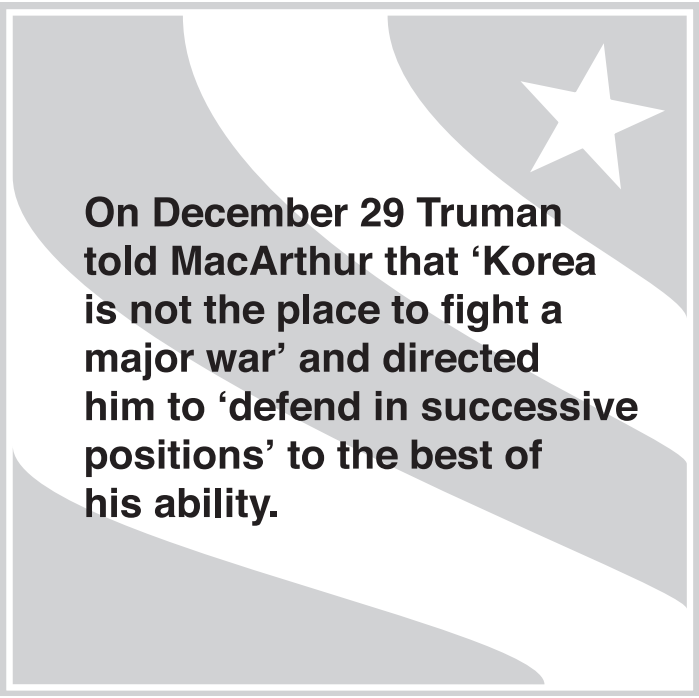
President Truman's policy was unclear. The U.S. would not invite Chiang Kai-Shek's intervention into the conflict. To do so would risk intervention by the communist mainland Chinese into North Korea. MacArthur had told Truman that he agreed, but on July 31, 1950, he made a highly publicized visit to Formosa. The press interpreted this action as a clear sign of MacArthur's disagreement with the president. In an open message, MacArthur lashed out at "those who advocate appeasement and defeatism in the Pacific." MacArthur made it clear that he was in total disagreement with President Truman's policy of neutralizing Korea and keeping it a local conflict. Truman later revealed that he considered firing MacArthur at this time (August 26, 1950).

Policy meeting held In mid-September 1950 communist China began to hint at possible intervention. Truman urged MacArthur to remain cautious, but MacArthur boldly pushed his army into North Korea. President Truman, concerned by General MacArthur's actions, met with him on Wake Island on October 15, 1950. MacArthur told the president that the war was all but won and the Chinese communists would never intervene. Truman left this meeting saying, "I've never had a more satisfactory conference."

In November, MacArthur boldly downgraded the possibility of Chinese communist intervention. He publicly downgraded the possibility that China was gathering divisions of its armies to reinforce the North Koreans; MacArthur called such reinforcements "impossible." President Truman feared that such statements would anger the Chinese communists on the mainland and force them to intervene. Truman therefore warned MacArthur that such statements could lead the U.S. into a third world war.

Chinese enter the conflict On November 25, 1950, MacArthur launched what he thought was the final offensive into North Korea. The attack failed immediately, however, as 200,000 Chinese Communists poured into North Korea and repelled MacArthur's attack. Suddenly the general stated the U.N. forces faced an "entirely new war." MacArthur now warned Washington that he was "facing the entire Chinese nation in an undeclared war." MacArthur proposed two courses of action: 1) evacuation of Korea, or 2) an all-out war with the mainland Chinese communists.





On December 29 Truman told MacArthur that ‘Korea is not the place to fight a major war’ and directed him to ‘defend in successive positions’ to the best of his ability.

He also proposed bombing mainland China, establishing a naval blockade, and introducing the Nationalist Chinese forces of Chiang Kai-Shek from Formosa.

President Truman responded by saying that neither course of action was acceptable. On December 29, Truman told MacArthur that “Korea is not the place to fight a major war” and directed him to “defend in successive positions” to the best of his ability. MacArthur responded by recommending an all-out effort to “save Asia from the engulfment otherwise facing it.” He further warned that unless this was done, his forces faced “complete destruction.” However, the United Nations armed forces were able to halt the communist Chinese advance by mid-January. The U.N. along with the U.S. began to express concerned interest in a cease-fire.

MacArthur dismissed On March 20, 1951, MacArthur learned of President Truman’s plan for a cease-fire. Four days later MacArthur issued a statement offering to “confer in the field” and warning the Chinese communists that unless they listened to him, the war would be expanded and this “would doom Red China to the risk of imminent military collapse.” This statement was interpreted by many

as a clear attempt by MacArthur to destroy the president’s plan. Truman later wrote: “By this act, MacArthur left me no choice I could no longer tolerate his insubordination.”

On April 5, 1951, House Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. (Republican, Massachusetts) quoted from a letter from General MacArthur saying, “Here we fight Europe’s war with arms while diplomats there fight it with words.” MacArthur further stated, “There is no substitute for victory.” These statements were a bold, open challenge of Truman and of American foreign policy. In consequence, Truman gathered together his civilian advisers along with the joint chiefs. They reached a unanimous decision that MacArthur should be fired.

On April 11, 1951, MacArthur was relieved from command. Truman defended his decision by saying that General MacArthur was no longer able “to give his wholehearted support to the policies of the U.S. government and of the U.N. in matters pertaining to his official duties.”

Emotions ignited When he dismissed the famed general, President Truman ignited a bomb in Congress and across the nation. Congressional Republicans, not noted for their support of the Democratic president, arched their backs in dissent and disbelief. So outstanding was MacArthur’s fame that Democrats in Congress, who were generally staunch supporters of the president, joined with Republicans in asking MacArthur to address a joint session of Congress on April 19, 1951. MacArthur returned to America, meeting cheering throngs of supporters. He spoke to Congress and the nation, repeating his case for expanding the war. He closed with the famous line: “Old soldiers never die. They just fade away.”

Senate reviews firing Within a partisan setting, the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations committees reviewed the firing of General MacArthur in closed door hearings that began on May 3, 1951. Members heard testimony from MacArthur, from Secretary of Defense George Marshall, from Secretary of State Dean Acheson, and from the joint chiefs. The hearings ended on June 25 after some two million words of testimony were heard, little of which supported MacArthur’s views. Much of the testimony concerned itself with MacArthur’s denial of charges of “insubordination.” On August 17, 1951, the committees voted 20-3 not to make any formal report. Three days later 12 Republican committee members released their “opinions” based on the hearings. They were almost unanimous in upholding MacArthur’s position. Only Republican Senator Wayne Morse from Oregon agreed with President Truman’s firing of MacArthur and with Truman’s Korean policy.



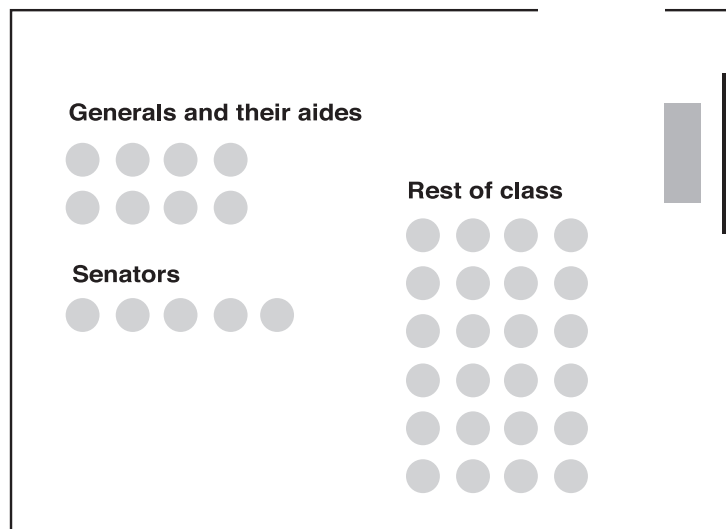
If you had been a senator serving in Congress during this 1951 hearing, which position do you expect you would most likely have accepted?

PROCEDURE

This re-creation of events concerning President Truman's firing of General MacArthur has been designed to fit within a specific framework of time. Your teacher will give you instructions for each day's assignment and will detail what will be expected of you as an individual observer/participant, as a member of Congress, or as an upper-level military.

Day 1

1. **Presentation** Your teacher may give you a lecture or some kind of audio-visual presentation to introduce you to the historical situation.
2. **Background** You will next read the Background Essay in this Student Guide.
3. **Role assignments**
 - a. Eight students will role-play four generals and their aides. The generals will give testimony to the Senate committee.
 - General Douglas MacArthur
 - General George C. Marshall
 - General Omar Bradley
 - Lt. General Albert C. Wedemeyer
 - b. Five students will role-play important members of the Senate committee investigating the dismissal of MacArthur.
 - Senator Richard Russell (D, Georgia), who will also serve as committee chairman
 - Senator Wayne Morse (R, Oregon)
 - Senator Brien MacMahon (D, Connecticut)
 - Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (R, Massachusetts)
 - Senator Lyndon Johnson (D, Texas)
 - c. The rest of the class will role-play note-taking observer/participants.
4. **Handouts** The four military officers giving testimony, their four aides, and the five students role-playing senators will receive separate handouts containing key testimony, information and questions. The rest of the class will prepare note-taking sheets.
5. **Meeting** Each of the three groups of students will meet for a period of time designated by the teacher.
 - a. The four military officers will meet with their aides and will go over their testimony and study each others' handouts.
 - General MacArthur and General Wedemeyer and their aides meet to discuss their testimony favoring MacArthur's point of view.
 - General Marshall and General Bradley and their aides meet to discuss their testimony favoring President Truman's point of view.
 - b. The five senators will meet to discuss the order of procedure in the questioning of the four generals. As chairman, Senator Russell should keep the committee on task and the questioning on an even flow.
 - c. The observer/participants—the rest of the class—will individually prepare note-taking sheets. (See fuller explanation on page 5.)





Please take considerable notes, writing down what is said and your reactions to what is said during this mini-unit. You will then gain a great deal from this historical re-creation.

Research shows us that when persons write as they are learning, they retain considerable knowledge—and for a long time period.

6. **Note-taking** The observers/participants should prepare a minimum of four note sheets, one for each of the four argument areas developed on page 7. At the top of each note sheet print the issue in question form. Follow this model for each of your four note sheets.

As the re-creation takes place, you will take notes on these four note sheets. (You may need extra sheets of paper.) If you want to do a careful job, you will print a **Mac**, a **W**, a **M**, or a **B** after each note that you take. These initials stand for, respectively, **Mac**Arthur, **W**edemeyer, **M**arshall, and **B**radley.

In both these columns you will write specific details which back up the general statements given on page 7 ...

MacArthur and the Korean War: 1951	
1: Is there a real threat of Soviet intervention?	
Pro General MacArthur	Pro President Truman

7. **Overnight assignment**

- Generals, aides, and the senators should study the separate handouts given them by the teacher. Be certain that you are prepared to give testimony and ask questions. Note: Your teacher may also ask you to complete the writing assignment below.
- Observers/participants should write answers to the following questions. For help, use the information provided in the Background Essay and in your history textbook.
 - Was the conflict between General MacArthur and President Truman only a conflict between two men, or was it a conflict on a level of higher importance? Explain.
 - Did the U.S. and the world have a negative or positive attitude toward General MacArthur?
 - Explain General MacArthur's attitude towards Korea, Communist China, and Nationalist China (Formosa) in regards to winning the war.
 - Explain President Truman's attitude towards Korea, Communist China, and Nationalist China (Formosa) in regards to winning the war.
 - Why did President Truman fire General MacArthur?

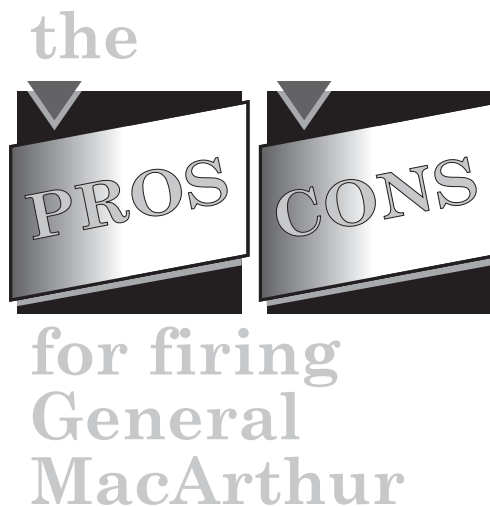
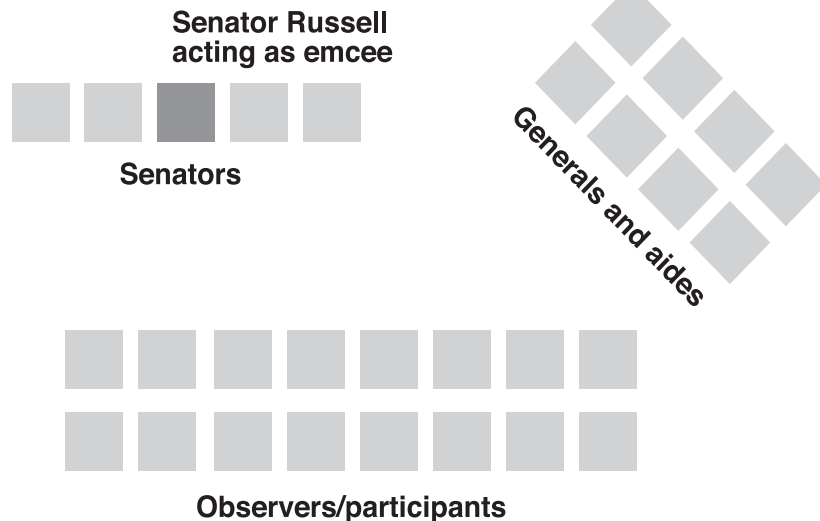
Days 2-3



Adopt the scholar's attitude during your debate. How?

Try to imagine how the historical age influenced persons.

1. **Chairperson** The student role-playing Senator Russell will assume the role of chairperson of the proceedings.
2. **Setup** The classroom will be divided as follows:
 - a. The five senators will be located in front of the room. They should sit behind a large table or in desks facing the class.
 - b. The four generals (and their aides) will be seated in eight chairs to the left or right of the senators. When each general testifies, his aide should sit close by. Both should sit close to the senators.
 - c. The remaining students playing observers/participants will be seated in their desks facing the senators.



3. **Testimony** Senator Russell calls the first witness, General MacArthur, to the stand. Questioning of General MacArthur then begins as senators ask specific questions of the general in the four argument concern areas. When the senators have exhausted their questions, General MacArthur is seated and generals Marshall, Bradley, and Wedemeyer are then questioned in the same manner. Observer/participants take notes as each of the four generals gives his testimony.
4. **Vote** When all testimony has been taken, the proceedings will end and the chairperson will call for a vote. The vote will determine if the president acted properly in firing General MacArthur. All members of the class except the four generals will vote (with a show of hands) in this sequence: the observer/participants; then the senators.
5. **Overnight assignment** Your teacher may ask you to complete the following statement in a short essay. "In the matter of President Truman's firing of General MacArthur, I voted ____ because...."

Day 4

1. **Post-Test** Your teacher may give you a POST-TEST. If so, refer to the Testing section on page 8 in this Student Guide.
2. **Debriefing** Your teacher will divide you into groups for a debriefing activity. See the Debriefing section on page 8 in this Student Guide.

ARGUMENTS OUTLINES

Problem It is May 1951. Numerous politicians, citizens, and military leaders have expressed strong feelings concerning the firing of General Douglas MacArthur by President Harry Truman. Two major groups have appeared, those supporting the president and those supporting the general. In the middleground between these two strong viewpoints are the observers/participants, whose point of view could decide the outcome of this important hearing.

Instructions Below is a list of both sides' arguments about four questions. Each side's arguments are presented in general statements. Specific historical testimony supporting the general statements can be found in the handouts given to the generals and to the senators. Observers/participants should be prepared to write down specific details supporting both sides' arguments. Doing so will help them decide how to vote when they must vote for or against President Truman's decision to fire General MacArthur.

ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING GENERAL MacARTHUR

I **Issue 1: Is there a real threat of Soviet intervention?** I

1. Russia will not be provoked into this war. The loss of one tiny satellite country like Korea to the overall communist objective of world domination is not enough to risk World War III.
2. Russia will not intervene unless a global balance of power is upset. Korea is not important enough to upset this power balance. There is nothing to negotiate, only a military victory to win.
3. The Soviets do not have the capacity to be a real military threat in Asia. They are militarily and industrially weak. Russia is primarily concerned with defending what she already has, not reaching out for more.

I **Issue 2: How does the Korean situation affect our allies?** I

1. If freedom in the east is threatened, freedom in the west is in serious danger. Our European allies recognize this and will join in an all-out effort to stop communism.
2. It is in Europe's own best self-interest to accept General MacArthur's plan to stop the communist threat in Korea.
3. Our European allies need the U.S. more than we need them. They will join us in any effort against communist aggression. Even if they would not, the stakes are too high for us not to continue alone. Regardless, we are powerful enough to go it alone.

I **Issue 3: What should be our strategy in this Korean War?** I

1. The aim of the Truman administration in Korea is not victory; it is a cloudy, milk-toast policy which invites bloodshed and countless American deaths in the field of battle. It is a policy of appeasement, not victory.
2. We must not fight in Korea as a holding action until some vague political solution is reached. The enemy is fighting to win. The Joint Chiefs of Staff all agree that a military victory is the answer.
3. We must blockade China; we must tighten the noose around her neck with an economic embargo; and we must bomb her airfields, her depots, and her assembly lines. We must also use the Chinese Nationalist Forces now in Formosa. Our superior air and naval power will win us a victory. Thus, we will close the door to communist aggression in the world.

I **Issue 4: Should President Truman have fired General MacArthur?** I

1. The president, by his very actions, violates his duty as outlined by the Constitution. Each day he plays this political waiting game, lives are lost and victory is no more visible than a wisp of dust in the wind.
2. The president clearly has the right to fire General MacArthur. But the general carried out every directive he ever received. He only exercised his constitutional right to disagree.
3. Truman's motivation for firing General MacArthur was political. Militarily, Truman created a serious situation and jeopardized the national interest by removing so vital a military mind from the scene of an Asian powder keg ready to explode.

ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING PRESIDENT TRUMAN

1. The Soviet Union represents a constant threat to America. Russia's goal is to eliminate non-communist nations. Expecting Russia to stay out of the Korean conflict is downright suicidal.
2. Russia must be "contained." It must be deterred from the goal of world domination, not by an all-out war, but at the negotiating table. A balance of power must be maintained between NATO and the Soviet Union. We must not fight a winner-take-all war.
3. Any large-scale military involvement in Korea—or in Asia itself—could weaken the American presence in Europe, thereby strengthening the Russian presence in Europe. Even if Russia herself is not fighting in Korea, her interests are involved.

1. The freedom of all the allied nations involved depends not upon a military victory but on a permanent, negotiated settlement to the hostilities.
2. It is in Europe's own best interest not to become involved in another global conflict so soon after the end of World War II.
3. We cannot blackmail our allies into partaking of a military adventure against the communists. They are our allies, not our enemy. We must never be left to stand up to communism alone. Instead we must work together peacefully, calmly, collectively.

1. General MacArthur's war strategy not only invites the outbreak of World War III it welcomes it. The casualties in Korea while we negotiate a peaceful settlement will be very small in comparison with the wholesale slaughter resulting from a total world war.
2. There can be no permanent solution by achieving a military victory. The enemy that fights to win in Korea, once defeated, will rise to fight again. The joint chiefs do not uniformly accept General MacArthur's plan.
3. You can remove a portion of the communist body by defeating Korea, but the body itself will continue to live. The door can be closed on the communist threat, but it can never be locked. The key must be held by both sides; the problem must be viewed politically, not militarily.

1. U.S. Constitution, Article II, Section 2, states: "The president shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the U.S."
2. MacArthur attempted to usurp the powers of the presidency and became insubordinate; therefore, the president justifiably fired him. MacArthur's actions and words threatened a global confrontation. MacArthur never stopped at disagreement. Instead he attempted to establish American foreign policy, single handed, without advice or consent.
3. Truman's firing of General MacArthur prevented an Asian powder keg from exploding in the face of one single and powerful man who took it upon himself to establish foreign policy.

TESTING

Your teacher may choose to give you a three-part UNIT TEST. Part 1 includes 10 true/false questions which deal with the testimony concerning the firing of General MacArthur. Part 2 asks you to list specific parts of testimony favoring General MacArthur or President Truman. Part 3 has three short essay responses which require you to state your opinion in regards to the general's point of view and to the president's point of view presented in testimony before the Senate committee.

DEBRIEFING



This culminating activity will be enjoyable and a real learning activity if you have studied the different points of view carefully during the re-creation.

Good luck!

Historical aftermath You have experienced a re-creation representing two powerful points of view. The conflict involved the policy-making authority of the United States in regards to foreign affairs. The very powers of the presidency were on trial. On one hand, General MacArthur expressed the viewpoint that the administration constantly restricted him from achieving "victory" in the field of battle. On the other hand, President Truman expressed the viewpoint that MacArthur's words and actions ignored diplomacy and worked against a negotiated end to hostilities, thus threatening the possibility of World War III. Further complicating the situation was the fact that the majority of the senators, as Republicans, had no great love for President Truman, a Democrat, or his unpopular foreign policymaker Secretary of State Dean Acheson. General MacArthur, by contrast, was a popular American hero who had a history of leading the country on the path of military victory and military supremacy.

Thus, in such an extremely partisan environment, the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations committees reviewed the firing of General MacArthur in hearings that began on May 3, 1951. The hearings ended on June 25, 1951, after two million words of testimony, very little of which supported General MacArthur's political/military points of view. Much of the testimony concerned itself with MacArthur's denial of "insubordination." On August 17, 1951, the committees voted 20-3 not to make a formal report. Three days later eight of the 12 Republican committee members released their "conclusions" upholding MacArthur. Only Senator Wayne Morse upheld the president's foreign policy in regards to Korea. These Republican senators offered their conclusions to the public, stating that they spoke not as "senators" but as "Americans." Some highlights of their statements are:

- "The removal of General MacArthur was within the constitutional power of the president, but the circumstances were a shock to the national pride."
- "There was no serious disagreement between General MacArthur and the Joint Chiefs of Staff as to military strategy in Korea."
- "The testimony revealed only one positive plan for victory in the Korean War: the plan advocated by General MacArthur."
- "The policy of American foreign policy has been primarily to conciliate certain of our associates in the United Nations rather than to advance the security of the United States."
- "The removal of MacArthur was necessitated by his own misconduct, and Republicans on the investigating committees should be severely criticized."

Debriefing

1. Your teacher will divide the class into five groups. Each group will appoint a spokesperson.
2. Read carefully the Historical Aftermath. Pay special attention to the senators' conclusions.
3. After reading each conclusion aloud, the spokesperson will poll members of his/her group and ask them to respond true or false. The spokesperson will tally these answers and then conduct a general discussion on the following:
 - Speculate as to the possible outcome of the Korean situation had the Senate committee recommended that General MacArthur be reinstated with supreme powers to end the war.
 - Could a similar situation develop today in regards to a military/presidential disagreement? Discuss the possible consequences.
 - Why did the committee spend all that time, hear all that testimony, and yet reach no decision?
4. Each spokesperson will report his/her group's conclusions to the whole class.