Destruction of the 31st Infantry
A Tragedy of the Chosin Campaign

by

Patrick C. Roe
Major, USMC (Ret)

228 Salmon Point Road
Lopez Island, WA 98261
360.468.2220
patroc@rockisland.com
The crucial battles of the Chosin Campaign, which had a decisive impact on the future course of the war, were fought in the ten day period between November 27 and December 6, 1950. Four different actions were fought; the successful defense of Hagaru; the successful defense of Yudam-ni; the successful effort of the 5th and 7th Marines to break through from Yudam-ni to Hagaru-ri; the fight of RCT 31, East of Chosin. In the first three of these battles elements of the 1st Marine Division were successful in holding their position, and then withdrawing intact so that at the conclusion of the action they remained effective fighting forces. At the conclusion of each of these three actions the opposing Chinese forces were badly damaged. In the battle East of Chosin the army forces there were essentially destroyed as an effective fighting force. But, in the course of their destruction they held in check and inflicted significant damage to a sizeable Chinese forces which might otherwise have overcome the defenders of Hagaru-ri. Loss of that key location would have made the withdrawal of the Marines vastly more difficult.

By December 6th, when the 1st Marine Division commenced its attack south from Hagaru-ri, all of the hard fighting was not over but precious time had been gained for scattered X Corps forces to concentrate and secure Hamhung. The 3rd Infantry Division had assembled at Hamhung on the 4th. The following day the bulk of the 7th Infantry Division arrived. During that period, the attacking Chinese forces had been severely mauled by the fighting with the 1st Marine Division, by the attacks of supporting air, and by the unexpectedly severe weather.

As a result when the 1st Marine Division completed it successful withdrawal to Hamhung X Corps was able to withdraw from North Korea, intact, able to reinforce the Eighth Army and halt the Chinese offensive. The plans then in preparation for withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Korea were not necessary. The war could continue.

The significant contribution of RCT31 to this overall success was made at a terrible cost, the result of an escalating succession of logistical, tactical, command and communication failures. It was one the great, and unnecessary, tragedies of the Korean War. Nevertheless, RCT 31, surrounded and suffering heavy casualties, for five crucial days kept two CCF divisions engaged, contributing to the successful withdrawal of the Marines and, ultimately, to the successful withdrawal of X Corps from North Korea.

Because of the almost complete destruction of RCT31 there are few contemporaneous records. Nearly all information on the events there come from after-the-fact official reports and personal recollections of those who survived. Some of those personal recollections and statements were written many years later when memories have faded, although it must be said that recollection of those events was
indelibly engraved on the memories of those who were there. Any attempt to recreate a coherent picture of events has to deal with these obstacles, and with strongly opposing viewpoints. In the absence of direct evidence of some events historical candor requires inference from the circumstances. In this and in other studies I have done that for whatever criticism may be warranted.

X Corps Moves North

If strategy sets the conditions under which battles are fought then the deliberations and actions leading to the decision to reorient X Corps attack to the west to assist Eighth Army set the stage for the Chosin battles.

On 24 Oct just as X Corps was preparing to land at Wonsan, General MacArthur ordered all UNC forces in Korea to drive forward with all speed, and with the full utilization of all their force, to secure all of North Korea. The following day UNC forces made initial contact with the Chinese both in the the Eighth Army sector in the west and in the northeast on the road to Chosin. By the 6th of November, the Chinese, in western Korea, had driven the Eighth Army back to the Chongchon River. In northeast Korea the 7th Infantry Division had begun landing at Iwon and moving north meeting only occasional resistance from retreating North Korean units. On the road to Chosin the 1st Marine Division had passed through ROK units and, after a fierce fight with the Chinese, had advanced to the foot of the Funchillin Pass where the 7th Marines faced determined Chinese resistance occupying well constructed field fortifications.

General Edwin K. Wright, Far Eastern Command G-3, worried. X Corps was scattered in small units spread over 160 miles from south to north and nearly the same distance west to east. Deployed as it was the corps was in no position to lend support to the Eighth Army. It was not even able to provide mutual support to its own units. General Wright's concern was echoed in Washington. The National Security Council had met November 9th to discuss China's apparent entry into the war. At that meeting Defense Secretary Marshall noted the dispersion of X Corps and questioned it. General Bradley believed this disposition had been made by MacArthur in order to carry out his directive to occupy the entire country and hold elections. Bradley's statement was a clue there might be some misunderstanding, both by MacArthur and Bradley, of just what MacArthur's instructions were.

Despite the unexpected appearance of Chinese forces General Eward M. “Ned” Almond, X Corps commander, was intent on pushing ahead to occupy all of North Korea in his zone. Then, on the 7th of November, Chinese forces, on both sides of Korea, suddenly and mysteriously withdrew. In the west Eighth Army units moved forward to positions ready to renew their offensive as soon as supplies could be built up. In the northeast the 7th Marines of the 1st Marine Division secured the Funchillin Pass and reached Koto-ri by November 10th. This opened a huge gap between the Marines, on the left flank of X Corps, and the nearest Eighth Army units. So, on 10 November General Almond was alerted to a possible change of mission. In a personal letter to the X Corps Commander General Wright relayed General MacArthur's instructions for Almond to become familiar with Eighth Army plans in order to be prepared for any possible change in the situation. He suggested that X Corps plans be developed for a strong effort in coordination with resumption of the Eighth Army offensive, which, at that time, was anticipated to commence on November 15th.

Planning for the Attack West

Reassured by the Chinese withdrawal General Almond issued his Operation Order No. 6 on November 11th to resume the advance. The order stated the X Corps mission: "Destroy enemy in zone and advance to the Northern Border of Korea." The 1st Marine Division, 7th Infantry Division and I
ROK Corps were all ordered to advance and "destroy enemy in zone." The border in the 1st Marine Division's zone was more than 85 airline miles away (perhaps double that by road) through some of the most difficult and mountainous terrain in Korea. No intermediate objectives were given either division. In the ordinary military usage this meant that each unit was to advance without regard to the progress of units on either flank. It was an order for all out exploitation. As an apparent concession to the General MacArthur's letter to be prepared to assist the Eighth Army, both the 3rd Infantry Division, just arriving, and the 1st Marine Division, were directed to be prepared for offensive operations to the west on order.4

General Almond was not pleased with the prospect of turning west. On the 14th he replied to Wright's letter outlining his objections to the plan to turn west. X Corps, Almond said, was capable of turning west if needed. But it appeared that the Chinese offensive had been contained by the Eighth Army. X Corps could best support Eighth Army by continuing north which would also directly contribute to the overall objective of "securing all of North Korea... as expeditiously as possible." Once farther north X Corps could then assist Eighth Army by threatening Chinese supply lines. Almond's letter also contained a subtle suggestion that Eighth Army's plan for resuming the offensive was limited and timid in contrast to the energetic execution of his plan to drive for the border. Strangely absent is any recognition that the entry of the Chinese has changed the situation in any significant way.5

Wright was not satisfied. He had his Joint Strategic Plans and Operations Group study the situation to see what assistance X Corps might offer to Eighth Army in place of that already planned by X Corps. JSPOG believed that with sound adherence to the principles of concentration and objective the only course of action was to mount an attack to the northwest which would threaten the rear of the enemy confronting the Eighth Army and cause him to withdraw. By halting the forward movement of X Corps and reorienting toward the west two divisions could be made available. Since the attack would probably be along a narrow front as a fight for the route of advance, concentration of forces for a coordinated attack would not be necessary. The attack could be launched with forces already in position.

As a result of this study MacArthur directed X Corps on 15 November, to "...develop, as an alternate feature of your Operation Order No. 6, plans for reorienting attack to westward upon reaching the vicinity Changjin in order to cut enemy MSR...Alternate operation would be executed on order CINCUNC. Submit plans and any pertinent recommendations this headquarters."6

Wright was not the only one concerned with the dispositions of X Corps. When the 7th Marines, leading the 1st Marine Division advance, reached Hagaru-ri on the 24th General O. P. Smith, the division's commander, became deeply concerned about the division's exposed left flank. General Smith stated his concern quite frankly to Admiral Morehouse, chief of staff of COMNAVFE who had arrived on an inspection and liaison trip. Smith also wrote to the Commandant, saying he felt Almond's orders were wrong. Smith said he was not going to press his troops forward rashly to possible destruction: "...we are the left flank division of the corps and our left flank is wide open. No 8th Army units are closer than eighty miles southwest". X Corps would assure him, "when it is convenient" that there are no Chinese on his flank "if this were true, there could be nothing to present the Eighth Army from coming abreast of us. This they are not doing...Although the Chinese have withdrawn to the north, I have not pressed Litzenberg to make any rapid advance. I do not like the prospect of stringing out a Marine Division along a single mountain road for 120 air miles from Hamhung to the border. I now have two RCTs on this road and when Puller is relieved by the 3rd Infantry Division I will close him up behind."7
Obedient to the orders of the Commander in Chief, Almond had his staff draw up Operation Plan 8, draft 1. Under it X Corps would seize Kangye by a drive from Changjin. Almond rejected it. By advancing that far north the MSR would become too extended. He ordered a new plan prepared based on an advance by the 1st Marine Division along the axis Hagaru- Mupyong-ni. One RCT of the 7th Division would attack north to seize Changjin and continue north to the Yalu. The route Hamhung - Hagaru was to be developed as a corps MSR. And, finally, the plan was based on the assumption that extreme minimum temperatures of from 30 to 40 degrees below zero, Fahrenheit, would severely restrict both friendly and enemy operations.

While this was going on General Wright was not convinced by the Almond's letter of the 14th. He proceeded to do some additional planning of his own. On the 17th he produced a lengthy memorandum for the chief of staff (acting) setting forth an alternative disposition for X Corps which would, he believed, more effectively support the Eighth Army offensive, which was to be the main effort. Wright was worried an enemy force could drive down through the central mountain area and execute an envelopment of the right flank of Eighth Army or the left flank of X Corps. To counter this possibility he wanted to re-group X Corps to secure the Hungnam area and establish a division or more in the Wonsan area prepared to attack west or northwest. He pointed out that the Chinese were shifting forces eastward in the central area around Tokchon and Yongwon, and sideslipping forces westward from Chosin to the same area, the weakest part of the Eighth Army line. The Chinese could strike from there in either direction.

Wright pointed out that the 7th Division's advance was accomplishing little. There was little enemy strength in front of the divisions and there was little of strategic importance to be gained east of the line Hyesan-jin - Pukchong, or north of Kapsan. His plan was to re-deploy X Corps with the 3rd Infantry Division covering the sector from Wonsan to Kowon. The 7th Infantry Division would break off its northward advance and be inserted in the sector from Kowon north to Soebak-san, a mountain about ten miles southwest of Yudam-ni. The 1st Marine Division would then be extended to cover a frontage stretching from Soebak-San across the Chosin and Fusen Reservoirs to the vicinity of Hwangsuwon-ni, about ten miles southwest of Pungsan.

General Willoughby concurred in this recommendation. He agreed that with the meager resistance the 7th Division had encountered there was little to be accomplished in that zone. Willoughby thought the main enemy strength was assembling in the Huichon area. Although the road net leading from there was poor they had demonstrated their capability for movement over difficult terrain, were certainly not road-bound, and were aware of the ROK weakness on the flank of Eighth Army. They had the ability to launch an attack to the southeast, or a flanking attack on the Eighth Army.

In the next week the Wright plan and the Almond plan competed for General MacArthur's approval. Very probably three plans were under discussion, the Wright Plan, X Corps Operation Plan 8, and General Almond's stated preference for continuing the attack to the north. Neither Almond nor the members of his staff wanted to change direction and attempt to cross the mountains. As General Ruffner, his chief of staff, put it, “The decision for X Corps to attack through the Chosin Reservoir westward to hook up with Eighth Army was made at GHQ -Tokyo. It was an insane plan. You couldn't take a picnic lunch in peacetime and go over that terrain in November and December.”

There was an additional touchy personality consideration. As a result of his sometimes highhanded treatment while acting as MacArthur's chief of staff, Almond had created considerable animosity between himself and Walker. By now X Corps was in all but name a five Division field army. The proposed attack west would ultimately join X Corps and Eighth Army. Almond did not relish the idea of having to give up his co-equal status and serve under the man he had previously antagonized.
While this tactical debate simmered Almond continued to push forward. By the 20th the 7th Marines had reached Toktong Pass between Hagaru and Yudam-ni. Farther east the 31st Infantry had been patrolling in the roadless and frozen area around the Fusen Reservoir area. On 8 November and again on the 15th units of the regiment had encountered Chinese and engaged them in up to battalion strength. In neither case did the Chinese put up a spirited fight. Colonel Allan D. MacLean, commander of the 31st Infantry, LtCol William R. Reilly, his 3rd Battalion commander, and others in the 31st Infantry, came to view the Chinese fighting ability with contempt, an attitude which contributed to future problems. Still farther to the east, by the 20th of November, the 17th Infantry had secured Kapsan and reached a point just a few miles short of the Yalu River at Hyesan-jin. The following day, a “flying column” accompanied by General Almond and General David G. Barr, the 7th Division’s commander, entered Hyesan-jin. The commanders lined up for congratulatory photographs, then ritually urinated in the river while curious Chinese on the other side looked on. Elated with this accomplishment Almond planned to push the 7th Division ahead in the very zone where General Willoughby thought little could be accomplished. Almond ordered the remainder of the 7th Infantry Division to be brought up behind the 17th Infantry and concentrated in the Kapsan - Pungsan area.

The 32nd Infantry, then assembled in the area around Sinhung - Pokchong in the valley northeast of Oro-ri, an area they nicknamed “Happy Valley, was to deploy on the left of the 17th Infantry and attack through Samsu to Singalpojin. The regimental commander, Colonel Charles E. Beauchamp, attempted to move his regiment over the road to the northeast but found the pass blocked by snow. Movement had to backtrack and go the long way around through Hamhung. Trucks were available for only one battalion at a time. Thus Beauchamp was several days in getting two of his battalions and his headquarters and regimental troops moved.

Corps Operation Instruction No. 17, issued 22 November, directed the 1st Marine Division to advance rapidly in zone and to establish blocking positions at Yudam-ni, Toksil-li and Tuan Daee. The 7th Infantry Division was ordered to advance to Samsu, Yongpyong-dong, Wondong-ni and Singalpojin on the Yalu. All corps forces were moving to carry out this plan when the decision was made to change X Corps direction of advance.

**X Corps Scrambles to Change Direction**

LtCol John H. Chiles, X Corps G-3, took Almond’s latest plan, Operation Plan 8 draft 3, to Tokyo on 23 November. MacArthur chose Almond’s plan rather than Wrights. He approved the plan with a minor change of boundaries. In the same message MacArthur ordered the plan executed at the earliest possible date. Almond could set his own D Day.

MacArthur’s order to execute was totally unexpected. Almond has been criticized for ignoring the need to assist the Eighth Army and, tacitly evading his orders. The evidence seems to be that Almond had looked upon the westward attack only as a contingency plan to be executed if or when Eighth Army got into serious trouble. He obviously did not think they were in serious trouble. X Corps was scattered and poorly positioned to make a major change in direction. That morning five of the 7th Divisions infantry battalions were on the extreme right flank of the corps, nearly 200 road miles away from the Chosin Reservoir. Three more were in the trackless area east of the Fusen Reservoir. The remaining battalion, 1st Battalion, 32nd Infantry, was on the move to Kapsan. Clay Blair, who interviewed many key veterans of the Chosin operation, had this to say:

“ The goal of putting X Corps on the Yalu dominated Almond’s thinking. Eighth Army had failed. X Corps would not. In this goal he was supported by Barr and most senior officers in
the 7th Inf Div. All wanted to 'go to the Yalu' and show up both the 24th Inf Div, which had failed to make it, and the Marines who had so dominated publicity from X Corps that the existence of the 7th Division was scarcely known.\textsuperscript{14}

The 1st Marine Division was moving forward under corps orders to establish blocking positions at Yudamni, Toksil-li and Tuan Daae.\textsuperscript{15} Although strung out it was in somewhat better positioned to carry out the plan. The 1st Battalion, 7th Marines was approaching Yudam-ni from the south. The 2nd Battalion was at Hagaru-ri with the 3rd Battalion at Koto-ri. The 5th Marines were on the east side of the reservoir holding their position until General Smith could pull the 1st Marines, farther to the south, up close behind. It would take days for all units move to the new positions.

Although he was authorized to set his own D-Day, Almond, with his usual "can do" response to instructions from MacArthur, was anxious to initiate the attack west as soon as possible. He began scrambling for army units to dispatch to the Chosin Reservoir. The 7th Infantry Division staff, having been warned on the 20th of November of the possibility of reorienting their effort, had assumed there would be time and had planned for an orderly concentration of the regiments, then moving them one by one. Instead the force east of Chosin was assembled and moved forward in piecemeal fashion. A mixture of units was grabbed off from what was most conveniently available. However, based on the intelligence estimate that accompanied the corps operation order, there was no great need for concern about the enemy. Heavy resistance was not expected.

Almond suggested to General Smith that he go ahead on his own while 7th Division units were moving to take up their new positions. Smith believing that he would encounter substantial Chinese strength in the mountains to the west, and concerned with the existing dispersion of his division, dispersion that would greatly increased as he advanced westward, declined to move until the 5th Marines could be relieved east of the reservoir and closed up with the 7 Marines at Yudam-ni.\textsuperscript{16} Smith planned to have the 5th Marines pass through and lead the attack.

As part of the X Corps plan the rear boundary, between the 1st Marine Division and the 3rd Infantry Division, was moved northward to a point just south of Hagaru-ri. This meant that the 3rd Division would assume responsibility for the MSR as far as Hagaru, which would relieve the 1st Marines at Koto-ri and Chinhung-ni, allowing the entire regiment to close up on Hagaru-ri. In the rush to attack there was not time to carry out this part of the plan before the Chinese struck.

It appears that Almond believed the mission could be executed quickly and anticipated being released to resume his operations in Northeast Korea. On the 26th, or some time shortly after that, X Corps staff prepared a study analyzing Eighth Army’s situation and the anticipated results of X Corps advance to cut the enemy MSR at Mupyon-ri. It concluded that "when" X corps successfully carries out Operation Order Number 7, the II ROK Corps...[on Eighth Army right flank] ..will be pinched out. II ROK Corps should be given the mission on continuing north while X Corps is freed for employment in Northeast Korea.”\textsuperscript{17}

In the scramble to redeploy for the attack west the only unit within reach to relieve the 5th Marines was the 1st Battalion, 32nd Infantry. At 0700 on the 24th that battalion had loaded on trucks and was on the way via Hamhung to join the rest of the regiment at Samsu. LtCol Don C. Faith, the battalion commander, had left earlier that morning to get his orders and reconnoiter the new area. Moving through Hamhung at 0900 the battalion, under command of the executive officer, Major Crosby P. Miller, was halted by a X Corps staff officer and told to report to the Corps G-3. At corps headquarters Miller, was met by Generals Almond and Barr. He was informed that the battalion was now attached to the 1st Marine Division, that the battalion was to move north to the 1st Marine
Division area and advance north along to the east side of to the reservoir as far as possible.\(^\text{18}\)

Following these instructions Faith’s battalion was in motion north before the corps warning order, issued to all units at noon that day. The warning order instructed 1st Marine Division to move the 5th Marine Regiment west of the Hamhung Road on relief by an "element" of the 7th Division, and to complete the airfield at Hagaru by 1 December. The 7th Division was ordered to relieve to the 5th Marines east of Chosin with not less than one infantry battalion, which would be attached to the 1st Marine Division, by noon the following day.\(^\text{19}\)

The 7th Division scrambled to round up the additional units and get them to Chosin by to the target date. The army task organization arrived at was:

- 1st Battalion, 32 Infantry, already on the way;
- 3\(^{rd}\) Battalion, 31\(^{st}\) Infantry;
- 2nd Battalion, 31st Infantry, less E Company which was remain in division reserve at Pukchong;
- Company B, 31st Infantry, proceeding separately, was to replace Company E;
- 57th Field Artillery Battalion, less Battery C;
- Battery D, 15th AAA - AW (Sp) Battalion, less one platoon.

Each of these, as well as the headquarters company and tank company of the 31st Infantry, were to proceed independently to Chosin, assemble there, and prepare to attack north to the Yalu River. MacLean did not learn of his new mission until that evening when he received a telephone call from General Barr.

Problems Arise

Almond planned to launch the attack west on the morning of 27 November. Completing redeployment for the attack would involve the movement of the following units:

- One battalion of the 7th Division would move from near Oro-ri to Chosin;
- Two battalions of the 7th Division would move from the Puchong-Hysanjin axis to Chosin;
- 3rd Battalion, 7th Marines, would move from Koto-ri to Yudam-ni;
- 2nd Battalion, 7th Marines would move from Hagaru-ri to Yudam-ni;
- 5th Marines, with attachments, would move from east of the reservoir to Yudam-ni;
- Elements of the 3rd Infantry Division would relieve the 1st Marines at Chinhung-ri and Koto-ri;
- 1st Marines, with attachments, would move from Chinhung-ri and Koto-ri to Hagaru-ri;
- 1st Marine Division command post would move from Hamhung to Hagaru-ri;
- X Corps command post would move from Hamhung to Hagaru-ri.

In addition there was the need to move supplies and ammunition to support all those units moving to the Chosin area.

Redeploying so many units over long distances required trucks the corps did not have. Dispersion of corps units over a huge area had severely strained transportation assets. To augment available transportation X Corps had taken away two companies of the Marines 7th Motor Transport Battalion, although that battalion had been mobilized and deployed by the Marine Corps to give the 1st Marine Division some parity with Army divisions in motor transport. In addition, two provisional truck companies had been organized from vehicles of various corps troops immobilized in Hamhung. In Japan some base units had been stripped of trucks, using contracted Japanese transportation instead, in order to augment transportation for both X Corps and Eighth Army.
Another serious obstacle was the condition of the road, particularly that portion of the road through the pass. That eight mile section was one way, very narrow, with sharp turns, icy, and heavily traveled. The corps engineer estimated that it would take six battalion/months to improve the road to Hagaru-ri to make it usable as a corps MSR. For that work the corps engineer had available four engineer battalions, provided they could be relieved of all other work. Then, just when the need for the road between Chinhung-ni and the top of the mountain was most urgent, the army engineers, who had taken over road maintenance, stalled some heavy engineer equipment on that part of the road and reported that it would be blocked for from 4 to 8 hours. Further complicating the move many of the 7th Division trucks had not been equipped with chains to cope with the icy roads.

Other logistic problems loomed. There was a serious shortage of cold weather clothing and tentage in the Far East. On 6 November FEC was informed that the Korean War had used up available ZI reserves of items in critical short supply such as cold weather clothing, tentage, field rations, sleeping bags, blankets, heaters and stoves. Far Eastern Command reported it had on hand only enough arctic clothing for one division, provided outstanding orders were filled. The reversible parka shell and alpaca pile vest, when available, were not suitable for the conditions being encountered. On the 17th of November X Corps sent an urgent message to FEC saying "Soldiers are freezing for lack of shelter," there was an urgent need for 250 squad tents with stoves and the urgency could not be over-emphasized. Five days later the 7th Division G-4, in his logistical report, gave items in short supply as 6,705 mountain sleeping bags for US personnel, 6,855 mountain sleeping bags for ROK personnel. Only by the 29th of November did Far Eastern Command release standard items of arctic clothing sufficient for one division to X Corps.

The men of RCT 31 advanced north inadequately equipped for the weather they would have to endure. The 1st Battalion, 32st Infantry, asked for help from the 1st Marine Division and did succeed in getting some items from the 5th Marines as they were relieving them. One mortar platoon leader reported that his cold weather clothing consisted of a summer [wool] sleeping bag with holes cut for his arms and legs.


4. X Corps Operation Order No. 6 11 Nov 50

5. CG X Corps letter 14 Nov 50 to Gen. Wright

6. CINCUNC msg CX 69009 to X Corps 15 Nov 50

7. MGen O. P. Smith to CMC dated 15 Nov 50 - Papers of Gen. O. P. Smith - Archives Branch, Marine Corps Research Center, Quantico, VA

9. G-3 FEC Memo to C/S 17 Nov 50

10. Draft message FEC G-3 Top Secret file No. 722


13. CINCFE msg CX 69661 14 Nov 50. There was some belief at the time that the selection of General Almond's plan over that proposed by General Wright was influenced by the fact that General Almond was still the Chief of Staff of the Far Eastern Command. Almond, in his comments on the manuscript of *Policy and Direction* calls this unfair. Almond ltr to Gen. Pattison, OCMH 20 Feb 69 in Almond Papers MHI Carlisle.

14. Blair p416

15. X Corps OI 17 22 Nov 50

16. Blair p 420

17. *X Corps Command Report - Chosin* pp 4 - 7. It is not clear when this study was prepared or its exact purpose, but it appears it was done as an argument for releasing X Corps, upon successful conclusion of the attack west, to pursue the clearance of Northeast Korea rather than be absorbed into Eighth Army.

18. Appleman, Roy E. *East of Chosin: Entrapment and Breakout in Korea*, 1950 College Station: Texas A&M Press. 1987 (Hereafter Appleman) p 19 and 7th Division Units at Chosin. This latter is a chronology of to the actions of RCT 31 units at Chosin prepared some time later.

19. X Corps msg 241239 Item Nov 50 7th Div G-3 Jnl No. 869

20. X Corps Command Report p 54 Engineer Report

21. O. P. Smith diary - Papers of O.P. Smith - Archives Branch, Marine Corps Research Center

22. FEC ltr 6 Nov 50 AG 400

23. X Corps msg X12561 17 Nov 50