

aspects were concerned, and a desire to strengthen their strategic position in the Far East;

(c) That there was no evidence that the Soviet Government had envisaged at this time the action in Korea as developing into general war, or were conscious that it involved great risks. Kennan said that the United States experts had come to the considered opinion that the Soviet Government at this time was only willing to engage itself in a limited risk and had therefore provided itself a way out by the charge that the South Koreans had initiated the attack.

6. Turning next to the motivations of the United States policy in respect to the Korean situation, Kennan said that, in the first place, the President's decision was not dictated by any overpowering consideration of the strategic importance of Korea itself. The outstanding fact confronting the advisers to the President was the way the attack had been carried out, and that its timing was intended to give this Communist action a "tremendous symbolic significance", not only in the Far East but in the rest of the world. If the reaction of the United States Government and the rest of the free world showed a lack of determination and strength, the repercussions would be very serious.

7. Developing this concept in relation to specific territories, Kennan said that in Japan alone the results would be very serious. It was the view of all United States experts that any show of weakness on the part of United States occupation forces would have very grave consequences indeed.

8. Formosa was in all probability next on the Communist timetable, and the position there undoubtedly would be affected drastically by the outcome of events in Korea. The United States had been careful to show no inclination to intervene politically in Formosa. The action now to be taken was intended only to prevent armed attack on the Island. As a necessary corollary the Chinese Government was being called upon to cease air and naval operations against the mainland. Kennan said that the State Department expected no difficulties in getting Chiang's agreement, as he would have the best of the bargain in obtaining protection for Formosa. Kennan went on to say that there was absolutely no intention on the part of the United States Government to pre-determine the disposition of Formosa by this action. The ultimate disposition of Formosa he thought might be determined by the United Nations in accordance with the general security interests of the Pacific area and taking into account the interests of the Chinese people. The present action was only short-term action and dictated by the immediate requirements of the peace and security of the Pacific. The Philippines, Kennan said, were likewise most directly affected by developments in the security situation in Formosa. The Government there was already pressed on account of Communist agitation, and it was therefore essential to strengthen the Philippines by more direct and accelerated military assistance.

9. Finally, turning to the broader justification of United States action in respect of Korea at this time, Kennan said that it was fully realized that there was an element of risk involved in taking the action now decided, but that the risk of not taking action would be greater. The cover and support for South Korean forces did not constitute an act of hostility against the Soviet Union. The military action now